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Governing Elizabethan Ireland: Representations of Colonial Administration in Holinshed, Spenser, and Shakespeare

by

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Abstract

Traditionally, literary studies on early modern Anglo-Irish relations are largely rooted in the analysis of cultural and national differences between the English and native Irish. My dissertation questions the limitations of taking this line of interpretation, which has produced a genre that pits the narratives of the colonizer and the colonized against each other; they must necessarily be opposing, challenging the ways in which we study and examine representations of the Ireland in Elizabethan England. Through a study of the works of Holinshed, Sir Henry Sidney, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, I turn my focus to a study of English representations of Ireland within the context of colonial administration. This study breaks away from earlier works that predominantly focus on the conflict between colonizer and colonized, English and Irish. More specifically, my discussion argues that the difficulty of implementing permanent and sustainable reform in Ireland can be attributed to the division within the English government. I will examine the competing ideologies, or what I describe as the "internal conflict" within the English government, among the Old and New English in the Pale, the queen and her representatives in Ireland, and the queen and her military forces during the Nine Years War (1594-1603). In doing so, I argue that the representations of Ireland in early modern writings were not entirely produced as a result of cultural or political conflict but also by the breakdown of authority between the ambitions of the English crown and colonial administrators in Ireland. The division between the queen and her Irish council led to the struggle in the negotiation and the implementation of policies that aimed to extend English rule throughout the whole of Ireland.

The administrative complexities that underscore English efforts and Irish resistance were recorded and critiqued in chronicles, memoirs, and literary works. There is a prevailing view that the discourse of difference in these works forms a monolithic historical construct that renders Ireland the "inferior" and "threatening" other, and England as the "superior" and "rightful" conqueror, but these assumptions are undermined when they are examined alongside the administrative machine. England's Irish policies were never heterogeneous or consistently stable at any given time, and the political landscape in Ireland altered with every revolt, and every change of administration in Dublin. This dissertation asserts that English representations of Ireland, far from producing unified narratives of an unchanging "savage" people, reflected the problems of English government in Ireland, more specifically, the crown's failure to address the deficiencies of its policies and administrative practices. In other words, representations of Ireland were "invented," appropriated, and adapted largely from the anxieties of administrative ineptitude.

My research analyzes different aspects of the larger administrative framework through historical and literary responses. Through a series of works and figures which include, among others, Holinshed's *Irish Chronicles*, Sidney's *Memoir*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* Book V, and Shakespeare's *Richard II* and *Henry IV (I)*, I investigate the struggle for political power within the Dublin council, the problems of "royal absenteeism," and the implications of the widespread mismanagement and corruption within the English government during the Nine Years War.[1] In doing so, this study calls attention to the importance and immediate relevance of the problems within the English government in its attempt to govern Ireland. More importantly, it aims to

[1] The term "royal absenteeism" is taken from Willy Maley's *Salvaging Spenser* (1997).

demonstrate how these problems directly impacted and shaped the representations of Ireland in early modern history and literature.

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Introduction

Elizabethan attempts to bring a "complete" and "perfect" conquest to Ireland were largely thought to be successful with the end of the Nine Years War, which coincided with James VI of Scotland's ascension to the English throne as James I in 1603. Sir John Davies, attorney-general for Ireland, associated the new reign in England with the development of a new history in Ireland when he entitled his book, a text that considers the process of English conquest in Ireland, *A discouerie of the true causes why Ireland was neuer entirely subdued, nor brought vnder obedience of the crowne of England, vntill the beginning of his Maiesties happie raign* (1612). This "happie raign" was marked, in theory, if not in practice, by the extension of English law throughout the whole island of Ireland (as opposed to only English shired grounds and Anglo-Irish lordships under English jurisdiction scattered in different areas in the country); the systematic establishment and expansion of colonial plantations (with increased migration from Scotland and England); and finally, in by the imposition of the Protestant faith under the new Stuart government in Ireland.

Fundamentally, the Irish were no longer "mere Irish" (a term used to describe the non-aristocratic Irish classes whom the English often associated with a lawless population that was marginalized and excluded from the protection of English law). The Irish instead became English subjects under the new order. *The Act of Oblivion* (1604), which issued a general pardon for all offences committed before James I's ascension, was an attempt to win the hearts of the old Irish order, and it included a pardon of all former rebels. With this pardon, all Irish inhabitants were promised protection by English law. For Davies, these strategies finalized the long-awaited reconciliation between the two realms, "[breeding] such comfort and security in the hearts of all

men as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland" (213). The protective caretaker-like sentiments that underscore Davies's remarks were not new; Elizabeth also adopted similar tones in persuading her English officials in Ireland to treat local inhabitants as they would their English countrymen. Sir John Perrot, lord deputy in Ireland between 1584 and 1588, conveyed the queen's view in his arrival speech, in which he announced "Her Majesty's care and love of this nation and how she held them in one reckoning with the natural born subjects of England." Perrot sought to draw the Irish "out of extremity and bring them to the same felicity and quietness which her Majesty's subjects in England do live" (Canny *Making Ireland British* 104).

Despite the success of the Elizabethan re-conquest and Davies' optimistic views of an assimilated Irish people, the 1641 rebellion suggested that English views of the Irish remained unchanged. In 1648, when Oliver Cromwell was nominated to lead the expedition to quell dissent in Ireland, he expressed a loathing for the Irish that was even more pronounced than was his disdain for the royalists and the Scots:

> I had rather bee overrun with a Cavalerish interest [than] of a Scotch interest; I had rather bee overrun with a Scotch interest than an Irish interest; and I think of all this is most dangerous. If they shall bee able to carry on their worke they will make this [England] the most miserable people in the earth, *for all the world knowes their barbarisme*…. (my emphasis) (*Clarke Papers* 205)

If "all the world" is figurative, and Cromwell meant all of England, then there is little ambiguity—medieval and early modern English chronicles are filled with instances of Irish barbarity. "All the world" becomes more problematic if taken literally, especially since most of the literature in the early period on Ireland and the Irish was written by the English themselves. If

"all the world" believed the Irish to be barbaric in the seventeenth century, it was the English who made it so.

Cromwell's comment raises questions and undermines assumptions that early modern literary scholars have been taking for granted. Like Cromwell, many literary scholars have accepted the assumptions that were created, reinforced, and reinvented by the English decade after decade, century after century; their studies call to attention the contrasts between civil English society and barbaric Irish customs. But there has been a lack of interest in *how* Ireland came to be portrayed that way in the first place, and a reluctance to examine and distinguish the social, cultural, and political nuances that were written into English assumptions about Irish barbarism. Focusing on the discourse of difference, literary historians often find themselves with interpretive frameworks that are anchored in post-colonial contexts.

Interpretive frameworks that rely on the post-colonial theories are essential to understanding the processes of cultural and political changes, but they also overlook the complex impact of Anglo-Irish relations in developing a discourse of difference between colonizer and the colonized. The result, according to Willy Maley, is an endless, stagnant reproduction of "nothing but the same old story." That old story rests on assumptions that pit native against colonizer, leaving little room to discover the more nuanced conflicts intrinsic within each distinctive culture. For Maley, "[p]art of the problem with this approach is that it is insufficiently alert to the dangers implicit in rehearsing the negative opinions of the colonizer, affording them additional discursive purchase. Indeed, there is a thin line between exposure and reproduction." As a literary historian, Maley recognizes and acknowledges the importance of attending to issues of social and cultural discrimination. But he emphasizes that "it is equally valuable to look for fissures within the putative metropolis" ("Shakespeare, Holinshed" 29). To break new ground in

the studies of Elizabethan Ireland, we must look for these "fissures" beyond the scope of post-colonial interpretations.[1]

This study does not jettison the importance of cultural differences and nation-building, but it breaks away from earlier works that predominantly focus on the conflict between colonizer and colonized, English and Irish. More specifically, my discussion argues that the difficulty of implementing permanent and sustainable reform in Ireland can be attributed to the division within the English government. By this, I mean to consider the competing ideologies among the Old English in Ireland, the New English military personnel and administrators, and the queen and her Privy Council. Although these three groups are part of the larger English nation, they did not hold common views about the government and reformation of Ireland. Areas of contention often include the conflict of ideologies (for instance, competing ideas of national identity), of authority (between the queen and her representatives in Ireland), of policy-making (that was sometimes supported by the crown but not her colonial government), and the social and economic exploitation between the queen and her subjects. Working with these ideas through a

[1] The constitutional status of Ireland after 1541 and the colonization schemes in the Elizabethan era complicated notions of whether Ireland was to be considered a colony or part of the English kingdom. Literary scholars such as Shannon Miller discuss this issue within the context of early failed attempts of New World colonization. She observes: "The New World plays a productive role in transforming Ireland from a portion of the 'kingdom' into a 'colony' for the English" (53). Karl S. Bottigheimer's fine essay, "Kingdom and Colony" (1979), cautions against the use of conclusive and general definitions of kingdom and colony: "the first suggests, not altogether accurately, home rule. The second raises images of government from afar, exploitation, and subordination of interests nearer the seat of power" (45). He points out that the complexities in the treatment of the natives and the English government's colonial ambitions and administrative practices rendered the terms ambiguous; as a result, Ireland could not be regarded as an eastern extension of England's New World, nor could it be definitively perceived as a kingdom of the crown (55). Nicholas Canny further considers the implications of Bottigheimer's essay in his monograph aptly entitled *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World* (1988), which includes discussions on sixteenth century ideas on colonization.

selection of historical and literary works, my study considers four aspects of English colonial government:

1) The history of the political power struggle between the first invaders of Ireland and crown authority, and the rise and fall of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy in the face of sixteenth-century colonial prejudices against the old order of government,
2) The different and conflicting ideologies authority between the queen and her governor, particularly the lord deputy's autonomy within the Dublin administration, and popular expectations of what this principal administrator ought to represent in England,
3) The queen's indecisiveness on reform policy and how to best implement English justice in Ireland, and her attitudes towards violence and mercy, and
4) The English government's approach to and management of the Nine Years War, and its failure to monitor and contain the corruption in the army even from the earliest phase of the war.

Each of the four chapters marks a new phase of the Anglo-Irish conflict and each underscores the central argument of my thesis: the colonial government and the crown were of two different minds as to how best to reform and conquer Ireland.

By examining a variety of literary and historical works that chronologically represent these phases, I assert that the collapse of political power was, in essence, a result of the conflict of ideologies between English representatives in Ireland and crown ambitions in England. My discussions of the works of Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis), Richard Stanihurst and John Hooker (in *Holinshed's Chronicles*), Henry Sidney, William Shakespeare and Edmund Spenser,

I move away from interpretive strategies that foreground anthropological and social differences, and instead create and work within a context that focuses on administration and governance. An overview of the preoccupations that underscore this issue is essential to understand how the conflicts within the English government contributed to the difficulties of the reconquest of Ireland in the last decades of the Elizabethan era.

The "British Problem" in early modern literary studies generally turns on the political identities of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and their relations between the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The late Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood* (1992) provides readers with a helpful overview of a late sixteenth century phenomenon that saw English historians, playwrights, poets, and lawyers, among others, representing and shaping England's national identity by innovatively using literary traditions, forms, and genres. Helgerson argued that from the 1570s onwards, English writers became increasingly interested in defining a unique national identity. Writers were questioning whether the English state should be defined by its monarch, its culture and customs, history, economy, or social order? But collective consensus could not be reached where political exigencies produced uncertain outcomes; consequently, "[f]or many Englishmen, "England"—or whatever they called it—included Wales. Did it also include Ireland and Scotland? For some it did; for others it didn't" (Helgerson 8).

Holinshed's ambitious project tells us that Ireland and Scotland were not generally considered "England" in the sixteenth century: his history of England is notably entitled *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577, 1587). Wales had long been absorbed into England; Scotland was still autonomous country until its king, James VI, ascended the English throne as James I, and even then remained a separate kingdom for over a century more; Ireland, even after the lordship-to-kingdom constitutional reforms in 1541, was and was not England. In

theory, all inhabitants in Ireland were to be considered subjects to Henry VIII after the parliamentary act of 1541. But in practice, his sovereignty was only recognized in areas under English jurisdiction.[2] The rest of Ireland remained under the control of Irish chieftains who relentlessly struggled for dominance among themselves.

The violence that resulted from the conflicts have led English officials and visitors to label the Irish as a lawless and violent people devoid of all civility, and English ideas of Irish barbarity and inferiority served as a platform for the shaping of English national identity. As Helgerson noted, English writers draw on "a historically specific play of differences" to represent their homeland as a nation distinct from others in its own right (7). The "barbarity" of their ancient, pre-Roman past, and their insularity from the Continent both play important roles in shaping national identity:

> [The English] had to know themselves as the barbarous or inferior other, know themselves from the viewpoint of the more refined or more successful cultures of Greece, Rome, and contemporary Europe, before they could undertake the project of national self-making. In this sense, to be English was to be "other"—both before their work began and after it had been accomplished. Before, it was the otherness of the barbarian, the inferior. After, it was the otherness of the model of civility into which they had projected themselves. (Helgerson 243)

The projection and assertion of English civility was, in fact, fiercest at home, where the creation of a national identity implicated neighboring countries. While Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood*

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[2] On literary representations of national and political divisions in early modern England and Wales, see Philip Schwyzer's *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (2004); on Ireland and Scotland, see Wilson McLeod's *Divided Gaels: Gaelic cultural identities in Scotland and Ireland, c.1200-c.1650*; on England and Scotland, see Willy Maley and Andrew Murphy's *Shakespeare and Scotland* (2004); on British Isles, see John Kerrigan's *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603-1707* (2008).

considers new expressions of nationhood in the late sixteenth century, he glosses over the complications that arise from competing ideas of national identity amongst the four kingdoms. This issue has since proved of great interest to literary historians of the early modern period, most notably the "New Historicists," whose techniques are immediately concerned with the interactions and exchanges between the cultural and political milieu of early modern history and literary response to that history-in-the-making.[3]

To understand Elizabethan literature, the New Historicists turn to questions and concerns about British historiography. David Baker's approach to "the British problem" is the first of many to take up the challenge of studying early modern literature alongside questions that preoccupy the minds of historians. In *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (1997), Baker bases his study of early modern literary works on J. G. A. Pocock's influential 1974 essay, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject." Pocock's "plea" calls for a new British history that seeks to distinguish "the plural history of a group of cultures situated along an Anglo-Celtic frontier" from a historiographical tradition that is "marked by an increasing English political and cultural domination" (605–6). Baker stresses the discourse of difference in Pocock's proposal:

> "We are reminded," Pocock has said, "that traditions are invented and communities imagined, and…selves invent and imagine others in the act of inventing and imagining themselves; the English… could not have invented themselves without imagining the Welsh, the Scots and the Irish in the process, while the Irish… had to begin imagining

[3] On general characteristics, discussions, and critiques of New Historicism, see Aram Veeser, ed., *The New Historicism* (1989), xi; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Jonathan Hart, "New Historicism: Taking History into Account," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* (1991); Catherine Gallagher, *Practicing New Historicism* (2000).

> themselves as a people largely in response to the ways in which the English imagined them." (15)

In emphasizing the unstable and heterogeneous relationships in the archipelagic zone, Baker argues that "each nation is dependent on the simultaneous existence of other nations, all of which are caught up in a process of mutual self-definition," and that writers such as "Shakespeare, Spenser, and Marvell were placed in this 'expanding zone of cultural conflict and creation' " (14). For scholars such as Baker, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley, these negotiations and assertions of national identity, however heterogeneous, are largely produced through "cultural conflict and creation"; their historicist approach draws largely from historical scholarship that examines conflict within the context of colonization.

Historians such as Nicholas Canny, whose research focuses on English colonization in early modern Ireland and its impact on the New World, trace the hostility between the two groups to cultural conflict. In his attempt to explain the unprecedented English brutality against their Irish neighbors, and why the Irish were depicted as a barbaric people, Canny points out that never since the first Norman invasion had there been such large numbers of Englishmen coming into contact with the native Irish, as in the case in early modern Ireland. Long-time administrators in Ireland were "screened through the English Pale and thus had been prepared for the cultural shock of encountering the native Irish." Others, including ambitious colonizers with financial and military backing, did not come into close contact with the natives: "such colonizers as the younger Smith, Essex, and St. Leger went directly by ship to the proposed site of the

colony and thus did not experience the gradual acclimation that an approach through the Pale would have effected" ("The Ideology of English Colonization" 583).[4]

Unlike their desensitized predecessors, newcomers had to contend with seemingly strange and uncivilized Irish customs. It is only natural that literary-historicist scholarship on the Anglo-Irish conflict is traditionally preoccupied with acculturation and enculturation; this tradition, which privileges early forms of ethnographical observations reported in early histories and travel accounts, combined early forms of historiography with the study of culture in literature, especially through narrative, form, and genre.[5] Historical narratives of foreign cultures and customs, as Hayden White has cogently argued, are shaped by historical imagination and literary conventions; they are metahistories, or stories about history.

Interpretive frameworks that rely on cultural and colonial conflict as their basis seek to problematize monolithic representations of British historiography in early modern literary works. But even as they claim to blur the lines of self-definition, they create narratives that revolve around the colonizer and the colonized. In literary-historicist studies of early modern Ireland, cultural and colonial conflicts form our understanding of its making. These oppositions have

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[4] "The Pale" refers to areas in Ireland under English jurisdiction. The history of how the Pale came to be is discussed in "The Intervening Years" in Chapter 2.

[5] See Margaret T. Hodgson, *Early Anthropology in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1964). Hodgson's seminal work on early modern anthropology emphasizes: "[S]ixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature … laid the foundation of modern anthropology," in that it saw "a definite transition from the motive of entertainment to that of organized inquiry" (8). More to the point, she traces the roles that anthropology—more particularly, ethnography— traditionally play in early historiography. Cultural practices of foreigners, when reported in historical works or travel narratives, were often sensationalized as strange, magical, even frightening, and these reports were further perpetuated, and often exaggerated and dramatized forms, in popular literature. See Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983) and his edited collection, *Travel Literature Through the Ages: an Anthology* (1988), esp. John Mandeville's (*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, fourteenth century*)* influence on Christopher Columbus, 53; Mary Louise Pratt, "Travel Narrative and Imperialist Vision," *Understanding Narrative*, eds. James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (1994), 199-221; Peter Mancall, ed. *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology* (2006).

been interpreted as "cultural differences" because of the way they have been represented in the writings of the period.[6] There is little doubt that the study of competing narratives has helped to deepen our understanding of Anglo-Irish relations. But the literary historian who problematizes conflict through cultural differences and colonial strife risks overlooking and downplaying the complexities that underscore those problems, namely, the difficulty of *governing* Ireland. Moreover, the administrators in Dublin were directly responsible for negotiating, changing, and forging new relationships with the local aristocracy that served the immediate interest of the colonial government: "A history of changing notions of identity is also, inescapably, a history of changing alliances and oppositions. To redefine who one was was also to accept a new relationship to other ethnic, social, or religious groups" (Connolly 1).

Negotiations of colonization and religious policies in Ireland, in fact, depended less on the ambitions of the government than the ways in which its administrators responded to the exigencies of revolt and foreign invasion. Official *and* unauthorized negotiations—between English administrators and Irish chieftains—were constantly in flux, and they redefined the authority of cultural power and political order in Ireland. It would be misleading to think that the reconquest of Ireland was achieved through a systematic series of reform campaigns. The English government did not fully establish colonization schemes until after the Nine Years War, in 1603. Colonial projects before this period were generally experimental in their form, and they certainly did not play a significant role in the mechanics of establishing a central government in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign.[7] Lord Deputy Arthur Grey was only one of many who noted

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[6] For a collection of largely negative representations of the Irish throughout history, see Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh, eds. *Strangers to that Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine* (1994).

[7] On the early efforts of plantations through private enterprise, see David Quinn's "Thomas Smith (1513-77) and the beginnings of English Colonial Theory" (1945). Walter Devereux, the

this when he confirmed in his 1581 report to Francis Walsingham that there were more pressing matters at hand when he remarked that he "[h]as not present time for consultation on a plat [plan] for the conformity of Ireland. No part free from seditions and rebellious routes. No plat can take place before force have planed the ground for the foundation" (*CSPI* 1574–85/280).[8]

Religious reformation was also put on the back burner against the wishes of the Protestant clergy and zealots in Ireland. Adam Loftus' and Thomas Jones's complaint to Archbishop Whitgift tell us that the queen was not entirely enthusiastic about religious reformation: "[H]er majesty hath expressly directed them not to stir or meddle in matters of religion… priests had been given their liberty which many had used to encourage rebellion… it would seem her Majesty was prepared to allow constant breaches of the law" (McGurk 16). In 1591, Sir George Carew warned the Lord Deputy Fitzgerald that the queen "did not dislike your government, but feared that you were too forward in dealing with matters of religion" (*Carew MSS* Vol. 3 58).[9] Even after the outbreak of the war, Elizabeth insisted that her officials in Ireland must refrain from religious persecution. Her cautiousness in this matter was largely associated with fears that the Irish would turn to Spain for help. She was right. James Fitzmaurice's alliance with Philip II during the Desmond Rebellion (1579-83) pushed the faith-

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first Earl of Essex, also dabbled with the idea of establishing private plantations in Ulster at his own expense. On plantations that were planned post-Desmond Rebellion and the ever-changing policies on the distribution of land and labor, see Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh's *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (1986). Also see Éamonn Ó Ciardha's and Micheál Ó Siochrú's *The Plantation of Ulster: Ideology and Practice* (2012). After James I's ascension, the Elizabethan plantations and the many rules that regulated land distribution and labor changed as the migration from Scotland into Northern Ireland increased; see William Kelly and John R. Young (eds.) *Scotland and the Ulster Plantations: Explorations in the British Settlements of Stuart Ireland* (2009).

[8] *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland* will be abbreviated as *CSPI* hereafter; *State Papers* will be abbreviated as *SP*.

[9] *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved at Lambeth* will be abbreviated as *Carew MSS*.

and-fatherland to a new level when Hugh O'Neill successfully won Spanish support in the Nine Years War.[10] The enforcement of Protestantism and proposals for innovative ways to expand plantation zones were achieved to varying degrees of success between the 1560s and 90s. These efforts were viewed as systematic ways of socially engineering Ireland to become England. While colonization and religious reform schemes were important to the shaping of social, economic, and religious landscape in Elizabethan Ireland, the limited scope of this study will only mention their implications in passing when they are immediately relevant to my argument.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the "fragmentation" of authority in Ireland. The Old and New English struggle for authority to govern became increasingly apparent between the 1560s and 70s, as the Old English became increasingly marginalized by the military administrators sent from England. My discussion seeks to discern the tensions that characterized colonial administration in the last decades of the Elizabethan reign through Richard Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* (1577).[11] This first edition of the *Irish Chronicle* (as with the second edition)

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[10] The failure and success of religious reformation in Ireland is largely covered in Brendan Bradshaw's seminal work, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (1974). Bradshaw argues that the destruction of the Catholic clergy and monasteries were **[was]** made possible because the crown was able to negotiate terms that benefited some of the most prominent Catholic gentlemen in the Pale. This motion proves that the men, who initially opposed the bill, objected under the pretense of the loss of faith when, in reality, it was more likely that they did so because of the potential financial loss since many had some monetary stake with the monasteries through services they provided. Though Bradshaw's argument has been widely accepted, a lively debate on his approach can be found in his essay, "Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland" (1978), Nicholas Canny's "Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland: 'Une question mal posée' " (1979), and Karl Bottigheimer's "The Failure of Reformation in Ireland: 'Une question bien posée" (1985). Also see John Bale's attempt to preach and stage his morality plays in Kilkenny; he failed miserably and was attacked and expelled from the town quickly. An overview of the event can be found in Andrew Hadfield's and John McVeagh's *Strangers to that Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine* (1994), esp. their chapter on "John Bale and the Reformation in Ireland."

[11] Stanihurst's contribution to *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* is entitled "The Historie of Ireland," and the volume is the last of the six volumes in the larger

problematizes Annabel Patterson's views on multivocality. Her argument that the editors of the Holinshed project assembled a wide range of sources to represent an equally wide variety of voices is untenable when it comes to the *Irish Chronicle*.[12] The two editions of the work can be said to represent two extreme sides of what the colonial government looked like then: it was split between the Old English and the New English, and competing ideologies between the two groups were distinctly represented in the two editions of the *Irish Chronicle*. As Matthew Woodcock observes: "The confusion of voices used to speak of Ireland, particularly in the revised *Chronicles*, reflects the shifting, uncertain attitudes to the status of Ireland relative to Tudor England and its continued presence as an object of Elizabethan political and popular discourse" (344). My discussion of Stanihurst's version will take this into account by focusing on his use of medieval history to advocate and promote the credibility of the Old English at a time when newly arrived English military men and administrators undermined their loyalty to the queen. The Old English were increasingly discredited and viewed with disdain; they were often described as "degenerated" Englishmen, men who adopted Irish customs and whose loyalty to the crown was always under suspicion. Yet, the competing notions of English identity in Stanihurst's Ireland cannot be isolated from their medieval past; for this chronicler, the identity

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work. Because there are two sections in Stanihurst's volume, the first entitled "The Description of Irelande," and the second, "The Historie of Irelande," I have decided to refer to the entire volume as the *Irish Chronicle* to avoid confusion. In doing so, I am following the tradition of Liam Miller's and Eileen Power's 1979 edition of Stanihurst's volume entitled *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle*. John Hooker's updated edition of Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* is entitled *The Second Volume of Chronicles: Conteining the Description, Conquest, Inhabitation, and Troublesome Estate of Ireland* (1587). For consistency, I will refer to this volume as Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* hereafter.

[12] Recent scholarship that has responded to Patterson's theory includes Igor Djordjevic's *Holinshed's Nation* (2010), and Paulina Kewes's, Ian Archer's, Felicity Heal's (ed.) in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's* Chronicles (2013). On the tradition of early modern chronicles, Antonia Gransden's *Historical Writing in England* (1982), esp. vol. 2., and D. R. Woolf's *Reading History in Early Modern England* (2000).

of the Old Englishman is not simply marked by cultural differences but also by the historical legacy of the right of conquest.

Stanihurst relied heavily on the medieval conquest of Ireland as recounted by the twelfth-century writer, Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis), to assert Old English ascendancy. Sixteenth-century English representations of the Irish conquest were derived almost entirely from the works of Gerald of Wales, a Cambro-Norman clergyman from a distinguished family in southern Wales Marchers. He was chaplain to Henry II and tutor-secretary to Prince John when the young prince was sent to Ireland in 1185, thirteen years after the Norman invasion. More importantly, Gerald's family members and relatives were also part of the expedition that first invaded Ireland. Gerald's *Topographia Hibernica* (1187), an early example of ethnography on Ireland, shaped and perpetuated the figure of the "barbaric" Irish in the European imagination. For the purpose of this study, the *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) is more important as it gives an account of the conquest and maps out the earliest political structure of the lordship of Ireland. As Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* shows, Gerald's descriptions of the achievements of the first invaders and their unease with crown interference set the tone of colonial administration for centuries to come. Stanihurst's use of Gerald's twelfth-century narrative is not merely a retelling of medieval Irish history but a criticism of the sixteenth-century government of Ireland in the making. In asserting the ancient authority and achievements of the earlier medieval invaders, the Elizabethan chronicler essentially discredits the interference of the New English, and more indirectly, the crown's ideas on how best to reform Ireland.

Gerald's defense of the early invaders in the *Expugnatio* and his disdain for newcomers from England who arrived to exploit their achievements play a unique role in Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle*. Stanihurst's representations of the plight of the Old English community and their

ideas of reform are echoes from Gerald's work. These echoes serve an important purpose: they reassert the achievements of Old English history and in doing so question the agenda of the New English order. While Stanihurst does not explicitly criticize the New English government, he uses the Old English legacy to "remind" the newcomers that Ireland would not have been a kingdom of England if not for the ancestors of the early modern Palesmen. Stanihurst uses the ancient achievements of the Old English to resist New English policies that continue to threaten the interests of the Old English community. As historian Daniel Woolf has noted, appeals to the "ancestral past" were commonly used in early modern political and social discourse. They invoke "respect for and pride in one's personal, familial, ancestors were of far less moment than consciousness of a general duty towards the cumulative generations of forebears who were the predecessors of a particular group or community; within this context, appeal to 'our ancestors' could provide a forceful argument against innovations in manners or in politics" (*Social Circulation* 84). It is precisely for this reason that Gerald's *Expugnatio* is so important for Stanihurst: his *Irish Chronicle* is a response to the "innovations" of the New English government.

My discussion of Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* further explores the Old English responses to New English government and its aggressive reform policies, which he believes to be counter-productive to the reformation of Ireland. Although he believes that the English risk "contamination," or degeneration by interacting with the Irish, he asserts that the solution to reforming the Irish lies in through education rather than in the expansion of military presence. By dedicating the *Irish Chronicle* to Sir Henry Sidney, one of the most influential and powerful Elizabethan lord deputies of Ireland, Stanihurst demonstrates his hopes of reversing the aggressive inclinations of a new government. But the dedication also serves as a warning that the

Anglo-Irish conflict will only worsen if reform strategies continue to persecute the growing population of those who feel that the English queen is bent on rooting out the Irish race. Tragically, the subsequent revision and update of the *Irish Chronicle* (1587), edited by John Hooker, alias John Vowell, negates Stanihurst's hopes as he turns Sidney from a figure who will "restore" the Old English community and liberate the Irish from the brutality of the New English to a conqueror who is set at once to wipe out Old English ascendancy and stamp out the Irish race.

The third chapter of my study is concerned with the conflict between the most important crown representative in Ireland, the lord deputy, and the queen. My discussion focuses on two works: John Hooker's 1587 edition of the *Irish Chronicle*, and Sir Henry Sidney's memoir, *Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland 1556–1578* (1583). I argue that from the 1580s into the early 1590s, representations of royal authority in these works stopped depicting Ireland as a problem state and moved towards representing the English colonial government as a dysfunctional operation. The lord deputy was estranged from the English court, and consequently, his authority in Ireland was undermined. The authority and power of the English lord deputy of Ireland cannot be underestimated. In his description of Ireland in *Britannia* (1586), William Camden notes that the lord deputy's authority "is really large, ample and Royal…there is certainly no other Vice-roy in Christendom that comes the grandeur and majesty of a king" (973). Camden's observation can also be found in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, but as Sidney's *Memoir* implies, these perceptions of the lord deputies' grandeur did not hold up to expectations. My interest in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* is more specifically concerned with Hooker's rhetorical strategy and how it dismantles his predecessor's ideas of colonial administration and instead promotes and justifies the reformation of Ireland with brute

force. Hooker couches his arguments in providential outcomes and legitimizes them in the act of law enforcement and the queen's right to exercise royal prerogative. To justify and emphasize the importance of these concepts, he draws special attention to the representations of the lord deputies in Ireland.

Hooker's idealistic views unravel when we turn to Sidney's first-hand account of his experience in Ireland. In Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, he paints a portrait of the lord deputy as the twin pillars of order and justice, and more importantly, the head of a proxy parliament that is distinctly English. Thus, the lord deputy's views set great store in making distinctions among the Irish natives, the Anglo-Irish, and the new English; Hooker's narrative uses the lord deputy's encounter with these groups to legitimize and perpetuate culturally stereotypical qualities of the Old English and Irish. For Hooker, there is little to no ambiguity in how the English government operated in Ireland. As two-time lord deputy of Ireland (from 1565–67, with a brief absence for a year, returning in 1568–71, and then again from 1575–78), Sidney implemented a series of schemes in which he attempted to extend English law beyond the Pale and into the entire island of Ireland with varying success. Even if his achievements were limited and his ideas aggressively criticized at different phases of his career, he was able to rectify some of the problems that his predecessors could not resolve. As his memoir implies, he is not concerned or disheartened by the cultural quirks of the Irish or the absence of English markers in the Old English. He is, however, immensely disappointed in the queen's lack of trust in him, and her refusal to grant him absolute authority in the governing of Ireland, which he felt severely undermined his position as the head of the colonial government in Ireland.

Juxtaposing Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* with Sidney's *Memoir* in Chapter 3 provides us with a deeper understanding of the limitations of and discrepancies between what was believed

to be state-approved and desired in England. We can also see, how, interestingly, those idealistic perceptions had be undermined in Ireland if they were to come to fruition in England. In the *Irish Chronicle*, we have only representations, and must gauge their significance and limitations alongside accounts that are otherwise written by those who are being represented. Sidney's *Memoir* is the only sustained account and record of a lord deputy's experience in Ireland, and an examination of this work is essential to understanding the limitations of the representation of royal authority and the role it plays in colonial administration. Depending on how we interpret Sidney's career in Ireland, his reform policies can either be read as a failure or a success; Hooker interprets it as the latter. Sidney's *Memoir* is sometimes regarded as an angry rant about his service in Ireland. Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* certainly does not present Sidney as such; in fact, he is depicted as one of the most successful and popular lord deputies in Elizabethan Ireland. Elizabeth's refusal to grant the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to Sidney in the 1580s amidst an active campaign supporting his cause, and Hooker's views on the government of Ireland in the late 1580s, reveal the tensions between a royal representative and his queen.

The limitations of the lord deputies' authority also extend to considerations of policy-making in Ireland. In Chapter 4, I examine the difficulties of implementing royal authority in Ireland in the 1590s through a thorough study of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen,* Book V. Spenser's so-called Irish works, most prominently featured in Book V and *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (ca. 1596) have been of interest to literary scholars and historians alike. Though critics from both disciplines have examined these works from very different perspectives, they have generally been preoccupied with how to best reconcile (if it can even be done) Spenser the colonizer and Spenser the poet. Edward Said has commented that it is hard to "connect his bloodthirsty plans for Ireland, where he imagined a British army virtually exterminating the

native inhabitants, with his poetic achievement or with the history of British rule over Ireland" (7). Others such as Ciaran Brady and Nicholas Canny have commented on the risks of hinging the "view of the government" on a particular author or work. Brady suggests that "Spenser's experience was so exceptional that his opinions were of necessity unique" but Canny "reject[s] the suggestion that Spenser's statement on the reform of Ireland was a representative one." Canny refutes such judgments as "rash… without providing any detailed analysis of those writings of other English servitors in Ireland" (Canny, "Debate" 201).[13] I want to suggest that *A View* and *Faerie Queene,* Book V do not contradict each other and that they both explore and acknowledge the complexities of implementing justice in Ireland.

A *View* explicitly advocates brute force as the most effective and efficient policy for the reconquest of Ireland, and Book V of the *Faerie Queene* does the same if we read it strictly as an analogue of Lord Arthur Grey's career in Ireland. Patricia Coughlan has noted that allusions to historical events in these works can shed light on social and political realities with some caution on the part of the interpreter:

> There is a difference between the *Faerie Queene* and the proposals (including Spenser's own *View*), legal papers, and complaints of the New English colonists and of Elizabeth's and Burghley's regime, but it is not unconnected with them; provisionally, and cautiously enough, one might propose to discern in the poem the countenance of the actual world, but altered, disassembled and recomposed as a part of an attempt to work out the significance of acts and events in a longer view. (329)

[13] See Ciaran Brady's "Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s" (1986).

In support of Coughlan's view I argue that within a larger context of the *Faerie Queene*, which is concerned with the representation of knightly virtues and the struggle to attain and maintain them, Book V can be read as a reconsideration of how best to implement justice in Ireland.

Chapter 4 explores the interpretive possibilities embedded in "The Legend of Justice" in terms of violence and mercy in the name of justice. *The Faerie Queene* Book V is generally regarded as Spenser's endorsement of violence in Ireland. In creating his heroes, Artegall and Talus, as figures that symbolize relentless violence, Brendan Bradshaw argues that Spenser "associates himself with a voluntarist tradition of thought relating to justice… which envisaged the exercise of justice in terms of coercion, punishment and retribution" ("Edmund Spenser on Justice" 77). Elizabeth Fowler's more nuanced (and theoretical) reading of Spenser's allegory of justice in Book V further emphasizes the difficulty of reconciling the ideas of justice and the actions that realizes it because in "The Legend of Justice," "grounds for dominion derived on the one hand from ethics and on the other from the political philosophy seem to come into conflict, resulting in the eventual disruption of the structure of the poem itself" (49).[14] My interpretation attempts to draw out the problems of such a conclusion. My discussion on justice and mercy demonstrates how Spenser's allegory brilliantly presents the option of implementing justice by brute force as a seemingly viable option and, at the same time, it also questions the feasibility of such an approach through disrupting all notions of authority and mercy that run through the

[14] On the limitations of Spenser's representation of justice, and its implications on imperial discourse, also see Michael F. N. Dixon's *The Polliticke Courtier: Spenser's* The Faerie Queen *as a Rhetoric of Justice* (1996); Judith Anderson's "Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Book V: Poetry, Politics, and Justice" (2003); Walter S. H. Lim's "Figuring Justice: Imperial Ideology and the Discourse of Colonialism in Book V of *The Faerie Queen* and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*" (1995), and Brian C. Lockey's "Spenser's Legalization of the Irish Conquest in *A View* and *Faerie Queene VI*" (2001), *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (2006), and " 'Equitie to Measure': The Perils of Imperial Imitation in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*" (2010).

narrative. I suggest that the ambivalence in the allegory reflects Elizabeth's sentiments towards her advisors in London and Ireland. The queen was reluctant to use violence while many of her advisors felt that it was the only option, especially when rumors of Spanish invasion in Ireland were widespread. Though brute force is advocated in Book V, it is also problematized as Artegall's and Talus' perceptions of justice and mercy are consistently destabilized. The moral and ethical problems that arise from the characters' interpretation of the implementation of justice and their ideas of mercy and authority undermines many of the proposals that Spenser outlines in his *View*, which was written at a time when ambivalence gave way to exasperation and even disillusionment. The English army was not only ill-equipped to fight a long-drawn-out war on foreign soil, but when war profiteering and corruption became increasingly widespread, morale plummeted as violence escalated. In chapter 5 of my study, I will examine some of these problems and discuss how they were dramatized in Shakespeare's history plays.

The Irish context in Shakespeare's plays has been expertly covered by literary scholars.[15] Mark Thornton Burnett's and Ramona Wray's *Shakespeare and Ireland* (1997) covers a wide range of essays that deal with questions of national identity, cultural differences, and geographical boundaries. With some overlap, Christopher Highley addresses rebellion and gender issues in *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (1997). More recently, Stephen O'Neill also made a notable contribution to studies on Shakespeare and Ireland with *Staging*

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[15] On space and geography, see Andrew Murphy "Ireland as Foreign and Familiar" (2004), Lisa Hopkins's "Neighbourhood in *Henry V*" (1997), and Bernhard Klein's *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (2001). On national identity, see David J. Baker's "'Wildehirissheman': Colonialist Representation in Shakespeare's *Henry V*" (1992), Michael Neill's "Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic Power in Shakespeare's Histories" (1994), and Willy Maley's "The Irish Text and Subtext of Shakespeare's English Histories" (2003). On cultural differences, see Michael Cronin's "Rug-Headed Kerns Speaking Tongues: Shakespeare, Tradition, and the Irish Language" (1997) and Joan Fitzpatrick's "Foreign Appetites and Alterity: Is there an Irish Context for *Titus Andronicus*?" (2001–2).

Ireland: Representations in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama (2007). O'Neill's examination of a wide range of early modern plays shows us that the English stage and its audiences were indeed preoccupied with Ireland. From the plays of George Peele to Edward Marlowe, and a handful of lesser known anonymous works, O'Neill "interpret[s] the plays' Irish characters and references as an instance of intertextuality in the Elizabethan theatre, whereby playwrights engaged in both conscious and unconscious borrowing and allusion"; furthermore, "when read historically, the figuration of Ireland and the Irish in these plays can be seen as a form of contextual mnemonics, revealing the shaping influence of a common discursive Irish context" (24). One aspect of these works that has not been considered is the tensions they reveal between the queen and her military personnel, and how these influenced the social and economic spheres in England during the Nine Years War.

Chapter 5 addresses Shakespeare's *Richard II* (1595) and *Henry IV (I)* (1596) alongside one of the most pressing problem that the English government faced in its war with Ireland—corruption. This chapter examines the two plays against the backdrop of the Nine Years War and argues that the plays were highly critical *not* of the war itself but of the way in which the war was managed, or rather, mismanaged. I do not assume that either of the plays is about Ireland, but I follow Paul Jorgensen's approach in the study of these history plays when he comments that

> most of [Shakespeare's] military ideas would have been recognized as real, perhaps urgent, when they were first spoken from London stages. And to place ourselves in the position of his audience, we must refer to the printed sources of those military ideas: the numerous military treatises and newsbooks published during Shakespeare's lifetime. (viii)

What was more even more accessible for Shakespeare in the writing of his military scenes were the reports and complaints of enforced loans from the citizens of London (and across England) to fund the war when inflation was at its peak. Londoners also witnessed the recruitment of able-bodied men for the war and knew for a fact that the men sent to Ireland were ill-suited to soldiery. This was due largely to the corrupted practices used at recruitment and at muster; plays also point out the government's failure in controlling its war officers and administrators.

Shakespeare's depiction of corruption in *Richard II* and *Henry IV (I)* was tied to popular response to the Nine Years War. For instance, *Richard II* refers to Ireland more frequently than any other Shakespeare play, yet the island is always presented as an off-stage location. That King Richard would squander his money on an expedition to Ireland was less important than the way he justifies the exploitation of the Lancastrians, John of Gaunt and Henry Bolingbroke. What is especially telling is how the off-stage Ireland and the exploitation of the nobles are linked together to produce a larger narrative: there is no money for a war, and a war was being fought at the expense of the nobles, none of whom seem to have any idea of why there was a need for war (other than Richard's rather feeble claims of quelling Irish rebellion, and on top of that, there was no indication that the rebellion presented any real threat to England). Shakespeare, like most of his audience members, had never been to Ireland. Many Londoners would have perceived Ireland much in the way that Shakespeare portrayed it in *Richard II*. They were forced to support and contribute to a war that they could not comprehend: since Ireland was a kingdom of England, and not a foreign neighbor, how could England go to war with Ireland? Moreover, unlike government officials who were daily expecting news of a Spanish invasion in Ireland, the ordinary Londoner would not have felt the threat of the rebellion across the Irish Sea.

Henry IV (I) further explores the justification of war in terms of military corruption, and in doing so it also exposes the government's unjust treatment of its soldiers. Falstaff's lack of honor is complemented by his utter disdain for the institution that his monarch represents. The lord of misrule is also a soldier. The so-called rogue literature of Shakespeare's time categorized the idle soldier as a social misfit prone to criminality. Shakespeare casts Falstaff as a soldier who is both friend to Prince Hal and a victim of the institution that he represents. Under these circumstances, Falstaff's attitude towards corruption and his relentless attempts to pocket every penny of the king's coffers gives an alternative voice to the lot of the soldier. In drawing a link between the two plays, Chapter 4 aims to illustrate how popular responses to the war shaped Shakespeare's perceptions of warfare, and how the articulation of those responses on the English stage suggest the people's disappointment with the government's inability to manage the war.

In concluding this study, I will briefly consider the closing years of the war, particularly the earl of Essex's failure in Ireland and his revolt in England. War expenditure was at its peak after Essex was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599. With 16,000 men and 1,300 horses, Essex commanded the largest army ever put together for an Irish expedition. The queen's and her Privy Council's willingness to support Essex's immensely expensive campaign indicate that the government never responded to popular criticism of its approaches to governing Ireland. More immediately, as Shakespeare's *Henry V* also implies, the war with medieval France, like the early modern war with Ireland, had reached a point of no return: Essex's expedition was essentially a final gamble on the part of the English government. When he returned in disgrace, questions that pertain to the authority of the queen over her royal commander in Ireland were raised yet again. Essex's refusal to follow protocol and orders from England demonstrated the potential danger that could arise from the lord deputy's estrangement from court. His successor,

Lord Mountjoy, Charles Blount, was far more aware of the delicate relationship between queen and lord deputy, and his adherence to the orders from England won him support on both sides of the Irish sea. Decades of division and corruption within the English government bought the final imposition of justice in Ireland at a high price, and Elizabeth would not live to witness the long-awaited conquest.

Chapter 1. The Decline of the Old English Ascendancy from Gerald of Wales' *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) to Richard Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* (1577)

However, the pest of treachery has here [Ireland] grown to such a height—it has so taken root, and long abuse has so succeeded in turning it into a second nature–habits are so formed by mutual intercourse, as he who handles pitch cannot escape its stains–that the evil has acquired great force […]. This, I say, "evil communications corrupt good manners;" and even strangers who land here from other countries become generally imbued with this national crime, which seems to be innate and very contagious.[1]

Gerald of Wales (1187)

All English, and the most part with delight, even in Dublin, speak Irish, and greatly are spotted in manners, habit, and conditions with Irish stains.[2]

Lord Chancellor of Ireland, William Gerrard (1578)

The relevance of Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* (1187) and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) to Holinshed's sixteenth-century chronicle by Richard Stanihurst and later, John Hooker, does not lie simply in the recycling of Gerald's works or their scarcity before the sixteenth century, but more importantly, in the appeal that later English chroniclers see in a nearly 400-year-old source. Gerald's works formed the foundation for English history of Ireland written in

[1] *Topographia Hibernica* 137.
[2] *CSPI* (1574-85/130).

the in Europe. The *Topographia* and *Expugnatio* were written in the 1180s, a little more than a decade after the first Norman invasions (1169), but they were not available in English until the sixteenth century. Prior to the sixteenth century, Gerald's the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio* were circulated mostly in Italy. Petrarch loaned his copy of *Topographia* to Giovanni Boccaccio when he was preparing his *De montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paludibus et de diversis nominibus maris* (1363); Pope Pius II used it in his *De Europa* (ca. 1458), and it was used in the writings of Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) and of the Borgia pope, Alexander VI (Hayward, "Humanism's" 204, 199).[3] Even then, they were not published in their entirety but only in abridged form within other contemporary works. Paolo Giovio used Gerald's Irish works in his *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae et Orchadum* (1548); Abraham Ortelius incorporated Gerald's geographical description to supplement his maps in *Theatrum orbis terrarium* (1573); Polydore Vergil used them in *Anglica historia* (1534); Holinshed in *Chronicles* (1577, 1588), and William Camden in *Anglica* (1602). Despite their anachronistic depictions of the Irish, *Topographia* and *Expugnatio* were especially suitable for English chroniclers who were trying to promote and justify efforts toward the re-conquest of Ireland in the late 1500s. Gerald recorded the first invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans and the struggles that the invaders (and the crown) had to face in the event. Sixteenth-century chroniclers were also addressing the same issue, albeit in a different era and context. Scant attention has been paid to the conflict between colonial subjects and their monarch because it does not normally bear the violent marks of victory and defeat that feature so prominently in the battles between invaders and natives.

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[3] On the nature of the excerpts that were used by these writers, see Eric Hayward's "Humanism's Priorities and Empire's Prerogatives: Polydore Vergil's Description of Ireland" (2009). For views of Ireland from within Italy, see his article, "Is Ireland Worth Bothering About? Classical Perceptions of Ireland Revisited in Renaissance Italy" (1996).

To neglect the tensions within the internal government, that is, between English subjects and their monarch is to overlook the most pressing problem that the English government faced in Ireland throughout Elizabeth's reign—the difficulty in trying to establish a centralized government in Ireland that extended beyond areas that were under English jurisdiction. This chapter begins with a study of Gerald's *Expugnatio* and attempts to trace the hierarchy of authority in Ireland after the first invasion. After a discussion of the tensions that arise (between Henry II and the early invaders) from the distribution of authority in governing Ireland, I will compare the general structure of colonial government at that time with Richard Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* (1577). Gerald's *Expugnatio* and Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* address the difficulty of establishing a united and centralized governing body in Ireland, and they underscore the notion that this difficulty has less to do with the clash of culture between the English and the Irish than with the clash of ideologies between the English subjects. The "New Departure," which Nicholas Canny describes as a new phase of government characterized by military rule, created new tensions between the Old and New English that exacerbated those that had already been entrenched within the colonial government since Gerald's time. As such, the *Expugnatio* forms an important part of Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle*. His sixteenth-century history relies on Gerald's *Expugnatio* to assert the historical credibility and superiority of the early conquerors in order to support their contemporary sucessors. Stanihurst's defense of a rapidly declining Old English ascendancy, which advocated reform strategies that prefer education over violence, suggests that one of the most significant difficulties in establishing an effective colonial government came from the opposing ideologies of the Old English and the newcomers. A "fragmented" national identity was formed when the cultural markers of (new) "Englishness" and competing views of conciliatory and violent reforms became associated with loyalty. My discussion on this subject

aims to track and address the changing perceptions of what it meant to be a loyal English subject in Elizabethan Ireland.

Expugnatio Hibernica

Gerald's *Expugnatio* provides modern readers with the foundation of colonial government and the difficulties of establishing a form of unified authority in Ireland: the king tried to control his representatives, the marchers, in Ireland, but they did not feel that the king understood the complexities of colonial government. These disagreements often led to resentment on the part of the marchers. The Old English Palesmen of Stanihurst's Ireland traced their ancestry to the early invaders of Ireland, and to understand their sense of English identity and feelings towards government authority, we must first address the political structures that shaped these their attitudes and definitions of loyalty and identity.

Gerald of Wales descended from arguably the most prominent marcher family in Wales since 1066 though his long-privileged status was already in decline by the time he was writing.[4]

[4] This family is a prominent one by all standards in twelfth-century Wales. His great-grandfather, Walter, led the Norman army in Wales when he fought alongside William the Conqueror. After the Norman victory, Gerald was awarded vast lands and made constable of Windsor Castle. Walter's son, Gerald of Windsor, was also a leading military figure who participated in the invasion of Wales and eventually came to take charge of Pembroke castle. William's victory essentially opened the doors to Wales: his barons wasted little time in competing there and quickly appropriated established lordships independently. It was within a context not dissimilar to this that Gerald of Windsor married the famous Nesta, a Welsh princess (daughter to Rhys Ap Tewdwr—ancestor of the Tudors, and one time mistress to Henry I, with whom she bore several children). Nesta bore four children with Gerald of Windsor: William Fitzgerald (heir and lord of Carew), Maurice Fitzgerald, David Fitzgerald (bishop of St. David's), and a daughter, Angharad Fitzgerald (Gerald of Wales' mother). Angharad was married to William de Barri, the Cambro-Norman who was responsible for invading and establishing the Kingdom of Desmond.

The relationships between the marcher lords who settled in South Wales and the Angevin kingship were unstable during Henry II's time. Under his grandfather Henry I's reign, there was an implicit understanding that the crown would not interfere in the politics of Wales and the ties between the two nations were to be maintained through co-operation between the Welsh princes, the marcher lords, and the king himself. The main concern of the Welsh princes was the marchers' desire to expand their lands that violated the lines of demarcation between these groups. To redress these threats, the Welsh princes had depended on the king's intervention—he needed to control his barons or risk revolt. The tensions in this triangulation demonstrate the fine balance of administering and governing an area in which competing interests are rampant, and the relationship between royal authority and its local representatives is often fraught with problems. The *Expugnatio* exposes the tensions between the earliest invaders of Ireland and Henry II, for it is essentially because of these tensions that the Welsh marchers turned to Ireland to seek lands where they hoped to expand their land holdings and govern them without little or no interference from the king.

Gerald's narrative in the *Expugnatio* hinges on the king's authority over his marchers, but it is also carefully arranged to allow readers to recognize that the authority is abstract and the act of invading Ireland is concrete; it is the marchers who will achieve and realize the king's wishes. In Gerald's typical fashion of dramatizing and sensationalizing history, he begins the *Expugnatio* by originating the Anglo-Irish conflict to Dermot MacMurrough's robbing of Rory O'Rourke's wife in his absence, and consequently in how the latter led forces against Dermot, eventually driving him out of Leinster and into exile.[5] Gerald, surprisingly, made no moral judgment of the

[5] During his campaigns in Wales and Ireland in the 1160s, Henry II successfully extracted submissions from leading native princes; however, he had little interest in Ireland, and was only drawn into playing an initially indirect role in the feuds between the Irish princes of Leinster

event; Dermot is portrayed as being an inexperienced leader who oppresses his subjects; Rory is cruel for leaving little breathing space for his enemy. The relentless cruelties on both sides soon found a mediating factor when Dermot, bent on returning to Ireland to fight for his lands, sailed to Aquitaine to seek aid from Henry II in 1166.[6] Gerald tells us that he was well-received in court, and even though Henry did not want to interfere with local Irish politics, the king struck a deal with Dermot.

The agreement that Dermot and Henry II reached would have long-term effects in establishing the early political ties that would quickly make Ireland a lordship. Gerald's *Expugnatio* maps out the stages of conquest carefully. Even with his digressions and moral commentaries, Gerald emphasizes the events that trace the origins of the conquest in reenacting historical moments in full. The letter patent that Dermot received from the king noted that:

> Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Normans, Welsh, and Scots, and to all other nations subject to his dominion, Sendeth, greeting, Whensoever these our letters shall come into you, know ye that we have received Dermitius, prince of Leinster, into our grace and favour,—
>
> Wherefore, whosoever within the bounds of our territories shall be willing to give him

---

(Dermont MacMurrough) and Meath (Rory O'Rourke). Angered, the latter sought the aid of the prince of Connacht (Rory O'Connor), who was also recognized as the high king of Ireland. The origin of this conflict disappears entirely after the first mention of Dermot's robbing of Tiernan's wife, and the quarrel of the Irish princes is centered instead on Dermot and Rory. Gerald's opening is strikingly close to Homer's *Iliad*, which opens with the Agamemnon's robbing, first, of Chryseis, and then of Achilles' Briseis, yet the robbing of these women, as with Paris' stealing of Helen, figure only as pretexts to more significant events that unfold later. The editor of *Expugnatio* mentions another Homeric influence that shows up in Book I, Chapter II, where Dermot's return to Ireland is likened to Odysseus' return to Ithaca (187n1).

[6] R. R. Davies has noted that even though Henry did not take an interest in Ireland, he was "well aware of the opportunities and challenges presented by the outer zones of the British Isles" (*The First English Empire* 73).

> aid, as our vassal and liegeman, in recovering his territories, let him be assured of our favour and licence on that behalf. (185–86)

According to the *Expugnatio*, this license was issued after the king received Dermot's "bond of allegiance and oath of fealty" (185). What is more interesting is how the letter, which Gerald saw as little more than a gift from a generous king, morphs into an object and symbol of royal authority throughout the British Isles and how it would be used to create those early bonds that would determine early forms of English government in Ireland.

The *Expugnatio* tells us that Dermot put Henry's license to good use and what is especially notable is the notion that Dermot was less successful in England than in Wales. Gerald's contemporaries also made similar observations. A comparison of the *Expugnatio* and the contemporaneous Anglo-Norman verse chronicle, *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, provides a good overview of how Dermot used Henry's letter. Gerald describes Dermot's stay in Bristol, where he would be close to Ireland to recruit soldiers. Dermot reads Henry's letter in public and "made liberal offers of pay and lands to many persons, but in vain," until finally he finds an ally in Richard de Clare (more commonly known as Strongbow), son of the disgraced Earl of Pembroke (186). Gerald is vague in describing Dermot's scramble to recruit supporters, though the author of *The Song of Dermot* is more specific:

> But the king of England
> For Dermot, according to the lay
> Did nothing in truth
> Beyond the promise, as people say.
> When King Dermot saw
> That he could get no aid

From King Henry as he had promised him,

He would not stay there any longer.

King Dermot then, you must know,

Goes everywhere seeking aid:

Aid everywhere he seeks

In Wales and in England […]

After Dermot's encounter with Strongbow, he makes a point to visit the Welsh King Rhys where he secures the release of Robert Fitzgerald, whom he believes will greatly enhance his victory of the war in Ireland. After negotiations are completed,

Then King Dermot returns,

To St. Davids as soon as he could.

To Ireland then he crossed

With as many men as he had.

But Dermot, the noble king,

Did not bring with his warriors

Any Englishmen on this occasion,

According to the account of my informant […]

King Dermot then sent word

By letter and by messenger

He sent over Morice Regan,

His own interpreter

To Wales this man crossed over—

* * * * *

> The letters of King Dermot
>
> Which the king sent in all directions.
>
> To earls, barons, knights,
>
> Squires, serjeants, common soldiers,
>
> Horse-men and foot,
>
> In all directions the king sent word:— (ll.312–23; 400–7; 420–30)[7]

The anonymous scribe of the *Song of Dermot* could very well be Welsh given the emphasis that he placed on Wales, and a few possibilities can be established from the poem, most notably, Dermot's recruits comprised almost entirely of Henry's displaced Cambro-Norman marchers. Both Gerald and the scribe of the *Song of Dermot* agree that Henry's letter was perceived by most as a document used to patronize Dermot, perhaps even to mock him: "[The letter did] nothing in truth/ Beyond the promise, as people say." We know from both sources that Dermot was almost completely unsuccessful in recruiting men (that is what the letter promises); the *Song of Dermot* even goes so far as to note that it was a well-known fact that Dermot struggled to find supporters ("King Dermot then, *you must know*"), as he campaigned very publicly. What is especially important here is the notion that Dermot returned to Ireland without any help from Henry in England: "[Dermot] "Did not bring with his warriors/ Any Englishmen on this occasion." Instead, Dermot was forced to recruit from Wales, where he succeeded. Under these circumstances, the first stage of the so-called Anglo-Norman invasion was a distinctly Cambro-Norman one—these men who invaded Ireland were the ancestors of Stanihurst's Old English community. The conquest did not begin with royal forces but with the marchers—they were the first invaders in Ireland, *not* the king's royal forces.

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[7] The asterisks indicate lost fragments.

Gerald's emphasis of the marchers' role in the conquest of Ireland calls attention to king's attitude towards them: the marchers risked their lives to conquer Ireland, making it a lordship of England, but in return, their efforts were unappreciated and they were abused. The pride of the *Expugnatio* lies in Gerald's conviction that it is the marchers who were responsible for bringing Ireland under English control; the king ought to recognize this, but he did not (or refused to do so). Maurice Fitzgerald's speech at the Siege of Dublin in the *Expugnatio* provides readers with a succinct view of tensions between the marchers and crown support. On the verge of defeat in Dublin, Fitzgerald, frustrated that he and his men are unable to find help, makes one of the most quoted speeches in *Expugnatio*:

> What then do we look for? Is it succor from our own country that we expect? Nay, such is our lot, that what the Irish are to the English, we too, being now considered Irish, are the same. The one island does not hold us in greater detestation than the other. Away then with hesitation and cowardice, and let us boldly attack the enemy, which our short stock of provisions yet supplies us with sufficient strength. (223)

It is important to keep in mind that the Cambro-Norman marchers were operating on their own account and their invasion of Ireland was a private enterprise and not a royal invasion. Literary analyses of sixteenth-century Anglo-Irish conflict almost always take this passage out of its historical context. Modern interpretations prefer to read Fitzgerald's speech as a symptom of the "liminal" identity of the Old English, and understandably so, since Fitzgerald was also a "hybrid" figure: he was Welsh and Norman. The notion of "what the Irish are to the English, we too, being now Irish, are the same" carried identity implications but it also marked out the Irish, not only as a race abhorred by the English, but as a people who had no political connection with Ireland and whom Henry II consistently ignored: "Those who went to Ireland may have been

polyglot, but they were the people of the king of England, and some ingredients of an English political-legal identity were present in the lordship from the start" (Davies, R. R. 85).[8] The subtext of Fitzmaurice's speech can also read as this: we are as negligible to the king as the Irish. In insisting on reading the passage as a prevalent ethnic problem, scholars have completely neglected the political context of this very powerful speech. These sentiments are essentially an echo of the Welsh incident only years before, where the exact same marchers saw themselves as subjects "betrayed" when Henry II abandoned his former commitment to their interests. In the *Expugnatio*, the king tells all his nobles to return at once or forfeit lands and risk banishment. His orders asserts his authority in Ireland, but the group of Cambro-Normans, who are obliged to yield to the king's demands, receive no help from him in their time of need. The estrangement between crown and subjects in the managing and governing of Ireland foregrounds the competing interests of both parties, and the faultlines created by the estrangement would have an impact on the sixteenth-century colonial government.

The governing of Ireland in the twelfth century was not fully considered or developed, but was largely placed in the hands of the marcher lords, and this becomes especially significant as they immediately identified themselves as the "rightful" governors of Ireland. For Gerald of Wales, the submissions of the Irish chieftains to Henry II, and the king's distribution of land to the marchers, indicate that the crown's conquest was successful. But the conquest left few traces

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[8] Huw Pryce and John Gillingham have considered some problems about historians' representations of the political identity of the first invaders of Ireland. Pryce, for instance, notes that "we might hesitate to call the invaders from the late 1160s onwards 'Normans,' preferring to revert to the terminology of the contemporary sources that refer to them as 'English' " (2-3). John Gillingham argues along the same lines, and comments that modern historians refer to the invaders as "Normans, or Anglo-Normans or Cambro-Normans, apparently indifferent to the fact that in the works they are studying *the invaders were called English*" (my emphasis) (89). An in-depth discussion of Anglo-Irish identities in the early modern period can be found in Joseph Leerssen's *Mere Irish & Fíor-Gael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, its Development, and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (1986).

of a functional colonial government: Henry came, Henry saw, and then Henry left as soon as the lands were parceled out and offices were granted. There were neither plans to implement or construct English institutions or law in Ireland, nor any given set of rules on how the lordship was to be ruled. Legal writs were issued piecemeal and began in earnest only after Henry's death. Ireland was placed wholly in the hands of the marcher lords after Henry's departure and it was not until after his death that new tensions within the government arose again. As recounted in Gerald's *Expugnatio*, there was little intervention from the king. Royal authority was generally involved in the selection of new governors to replace old ones. Yet, it was often during these decision-making episodes that brought attention back to the tensions governance by crown and governance by marcher.

Richard Strongbow's death set a new precedent on how governors were to be appointed and it also calls attention to a "fragmented" government where marchers and crown representatives from England clashed over the struggle for authority. After the royal commissioner sent news of his death to Henry, the king appointed William FitzAldelm as governor of Leinster and leader of the marcher lords—he would be the king's representative. His behavior on arrival and the marcher lords' response to it would come to exemplify the problems that I will be discussing in more detail in the following section on Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicles*. FitzAldelm was not one of the original group of invaders; his first visit to Ireland was with the king and even though he had no part in the first invasions, he was also granted lands and made governor of Wexford. Gerald uses a couplet to describe his personality: "Beneath the outward guise of gentle bearing,/ Consealed the fox's hateful guile within" (277). The *Expugnatio* tells us that upon FitzAldem's arrival in Dublin to take over Strongbow's role, he is warmly welcomed and greeted by Raymond le Gros (Fitzgerald), who fought valiantly alongside Strongbow in the

first invasions, and his comrades in arms, all clad in their full armor.[9] FitzAldelm looks on and says to his friends beside him: " I will speedily put an end to all this bravery; those shields shall be scattered" (274). His remark immediately marks a division between FitzAldelm, as crown representative, and the first invaders of Ireland who, according to Gerald, have always been mistreated and underappreciated. Gerald laments: "this seems to have been the fate of the whole of this race" (274). The "race" that Gerald is talking about is the Cambro-Norman marcher lords, whom he believes the king has used for his wars without just appreciation and recompense. The angriest passage in the *Expugnatio* remarks:

> In all services of war they were highly valued; always in the van, they were eminent for their valour and daring in every noble enterprise: but, as soon as the occasion for their services had ended, they were neglected and treated with the utmost contempt […] Who first penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country? The Geraldines. Who have kept it in submission? The Geraldines. Who strike most terror into the enemy? The Geraldines. Against whom are the shafts of malice chiefly directed? The Geraldines. Oh, that they had found a prince who could have justly appreciated their distinguished worth! *How tranquil, how peaceful would have been the state of Ireland under their administration!* (my emphasis) (274)

Gerald's criticism is particularly noteworthy. His perception, that the Geraldines were "neglected and treated with the utmost contempt," publicly announces the discontent of the marchers, and more "loudly," the nature of the government: it was one that was fragmented, where king and subjects were on different sides of the battle. The early form of colonial government in Gerald's

[9] Gerald devotes a whole chapter to Fitzgerald's victory, won against all odds, against the men of Waterford at Dundunolf in Chapter XIII (206–9).

Ireland reflected these sentiments, especially after Henry II's death and when Prince John's representatives, none of whom had a hand in winning and governing Ireland, arrived and indiscriminately undermined the authority of the marcher lords. The marcher lords regarded such behavior with hostility, as would their descendants in early modern Ireland. Gerald, however, would not have been able to predict that the government of the lordship of Ireland would become a Geraldine monopoly down the road, and the irony that, when this finally occurred, the Geraldines would be plucked down by Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, descendants of the same Tudor line that had given the Tewdwr Geraldines their Cambro-Norman ancestry.

The Intervening Years

The hostility between marcher lords in Ireland and crown representatives from England that started with Henry II's reign would come to reshape the political status of Ireland in relation to English government. After Henry II's departure from Ireland, the governance of the lordship was left almost entirely in the hands of the first wave of invaders and those who were granted lands and offices when they arrived with the king's fleet in 1171. Gerald's *Expugnatio Hibernica* celebrates the achievements of the first invaders but is far less optimistic about the government of the lordship. In the *Expugnatio*, Gerald uses the young prince John's first visit to express these concerns. When John and the newcomers are met by a welcoming party of leading native chieftains, he pulls them by the beards and derides them for their foreign dress and manners (315). *Topographia Hibernica*'s depiction of barbaric and dangerous (not to mention "contagious") natives is subordinated in the concluding section of the *Expugnatio*, to Gerald's

efforts to underscore the Irish acceptance of the king's authority and his nobles' success in bringing them to that acceptance. The link between native chieftains and crown representatives was forged through what the marcher lords learned in warfare and negotiation, and more immediately, the marchers' first-hand knowledge of Ireland and Irish culture.

Newcomers did not have that advantage; men like William FitzAldelm and prince John's followers endangered the governance of the island: "Thus was the land misgoverned, and affairs ill-administered, until the king, discarding the newcomers, as totally incapable, if not cowardly, and resolving to employ men who from the first had acquired experience in the conquest of the island" (*Expugnatio* 318). Gerald's observations underscore two important ideas that later come to dominate discussions of governing Ireland: 1) that the relationship between the Irish and crown representatives is a delicate one, and the mishandling of affairs can have dire consequences; and 2) that the sentiment that "old hands" are more suitable in governing an island that is wholly different from England, is a powerful one and remains so, mainly for practical economic reasons, for centuries to come. For these reasons, the marcher lords and their descendants made better governors than those sent from England to protect crown interest in Ireland.

During the fifteenth century, the defense of the Pale was placed in the hands of the marcher lords though their loyalty to the crown was often under suspicion in England. Even though they were described as having a "march deposition" and their actions perceived to be "more grievous to the king's liege people… than the wars with the king's enemies," negative English attitude towards the Old English was not widespread or serious enough to discredit their loyalty and they continued to hold key positions as governors and administrators to the king's council in Dublin (cited in Maginn "English Marcher" 131). The appointment of Gerald

Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare, as lord deputy in 1479 ensured the security of the Pale as never before. His military prowess and dominance was widely recognized and his influence amongst the natives and marchers was important in maintaining peace, not only among the groups, but also among feuding marchers. He was generously rewarded by the crown with confiscated lands, which allowed him to expand already large landholdings into South Leinster. Much of his success ended when he was temporarily disgraced in late 1495 for supporting the Yorkist pretender, Perkin Warbeck. But Gerald Fitzgerald was eventually restored, in 1496. The earls of Kildare would continue to rule Ireland until 1534, when the ninth earl's conflict with the Earl of Ormond and his antagonism towards crown authorities put an end to what is normally called the Kildare ascendancy. The implementation of Poynings' Law, which called for the approval of the king's seal before parliament could be summoned, thus subordinating the independence of the Irish parliament, saw the steady decline of Old English influence in sixteenth-century England.[10]

With the fall of Kildare in the sixteenth century, the Old English community was constantly harassed by hostile Irish forces. Angered, the Palesmen reminded the king, much to his irritation, of his obligations to protect them. Thomas Cromwell responded to the complaints with his campaign to consolidate royal authority in the 1530s, which was seen both as favorable and unfavorable response to the Old English: "Anglo-Irish counselors were encouraged to offer advice on the general reform of the island. New appointments were made to key administrative offices, and preparations were made to overhaul the business procedures of the central

[10] Poynings Law was passed by Sir Edward Poynings when he was Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1494-96. The "law" subordinated the Irish Parliament to the English monarch; statutes and bills that were agreed upon in the Irish Parliament could not be passed without first receiving approval from England. Poynings Law was established to control the abuse of authority in Ireland but it was also considered as a "handicap" to crown authorities in Ireland during times of crisis when the lengthy process threatened to undermine political expediency. For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Robert Edwards' and T. D. Moody's "The History of Poynings Law. Pt. 1: 1494-1615" (1941).

departments of government" (Brady "Court, Castle and County" 26–27). These were favorable developments. But because many of the new appointments were made to Cromwell's men, who were ordered to deliver frequent reports to the king's chief minister, the Anglo-Irish no longer retained the degree of autonomy they previously enjoyed. Therein lay the less favorable effects of Cromwell's intervention. The Palesmen received for more than they had bargained for. By bringing the Dublin administration under direct crown control, Cromwell paved the way for the parliament of 1537–37, and finally the 1541 parliament, which formalized the constitutional status of Ireland from lordship to kingdom. For the first time since the twelfth-century invasion, Old English officials in Dublin were placed under the direct surveillance of England.

The constitutional change in 1541 put new strains on the Old English-dominated Dublin government. While the Palesmen welcomed the constitutional change and were loyal to the crown, they did not feel the same way about the dynamics of their new relationship with Whitehall. Unfamiliar and insensitive to the delicate political power balance in Ireland, new administrators from England arrived with ideas of managing Ireland that interfered with the efficiency of the Dublin administrators. These conditions drew a dividing line between the Palesmen and the New English. The natives, too, isolated the new administrators and viewed the newcomers with suspicion and boycotted them (37). The plight of the Old English can best be described in these terms: they were pressured to side with the newcomers whose meager knowledge of governing Ireland threatened to undo what they had so far achieved; if the Palesmen refused to do so and insisted that the old way was better, their loyalties became questionable in the eyes of the newcomers from England.

The Edwardian reformation of the 1550s further alienated the traditionally catholic Old English community. Edward VI's reform policies were far more radical than his father's: he

advocated the expropriation of the Irish, alienated the Old English, and displaced more Anglo-Irish administrators. Edward VI outlawed mass and enforced the use of the new 1552 Book of Common Prayer, and the implementation of these injunctions caused further conflict amongst governors, archbishops, the Palesmen and the Irish natives.[11] Many of these measures, especially his religious policies, were reversed when Mary came to the throne in 1553. Ireland, which Elizabeth described as an "unwelcome inheritance," came with the xenophobic military governors who continued to promote aggressive policies against the natives, marginalizing the more diplomatic Old English administrators of the old order. The renewed interest in Ireland after Mary's reign is undoubted: "The average number of active council members rose from eleven or twelve under Mary Tudor to twenty-two under Elizabeth," and in addition to the old council, "these now included the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Meath, as well as senior military commanders" (Connolly 127).

In London and Dublin, the voices of the Old English community became more and more inaudible in matters of government. The Palesmen's long service and loyalty to the crown became expendable, and their replacements did not care to distinguish between them from the natives. New English presence in Ireland grew rapidly alongside the plantation schemes in the 1580s and 90s. The increasing size of the English military also reflected a more systematic and interventionist approach towards those who did not yield to the demands of the crown. Historians such as Brendan Bradshaw have pointed out the "potency" of this "new departure in destabilizing the Irish polity" cannot be underestimated. As increasing numbers of soldiers, administrators and planters arrived Ireland to seek their fortunes, they essentially "challenged the

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[11] On the differences between the first and second book, see John Thomas Ball's *The Reform Church of Ireland: 1537–1886* (1886), esp. 37–39. The conflict between administrative and ecclesiastical officials can be found in Brendan Bradshaw's "The Edwardian Reformation in Ireland" (1977).

dominance of the existing elites—colonial (Old English) and native (Gaelic) alike—and then ousted them altogether" (Bradshaw "The Reformation" 94). As a result, "[t]he anglicisation of crown government in Ireland then and the challenge it presented to the old order constitutes the first of the flashpoints engendered in Anglo-Irish relations by the Tudor revolution" (Bradshaw "The Reformation" 94). The subordination of the Old English order which began in earnest in Henry VIII's time could not be reversed especially when we consider the increasingly aggressive reform policies that was introduced in Elizabeth's reign. When Stanihurst wrote his *Irish Chronicles*, he was already mourning the decline of the Old English ascendancy. Nonetheless, the narrative would also foreground the problems that the Elizabethan government was facing in its efforts to establish a functional centralized government in Ireland.

Stanihurst's "Description of Ireland" and the Old English Community

Richard Stanihurst's contribution to the Irish section of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) gives us a glimpse of an early modern Ireland divided, not only politically between the English monarch and Irish rebels, but also between Englishmen of Irish birth (Old English) and English-born men who would come to overrule them. If we agree with Louis Mink "that historical truth is relative to the point of view of the historian together, perhaps with his primary audience," and that "each generation gives itself its own reason for rewriting its own history," then Stanihurst's work can be considered as narrative of the very community that he came from. Yet, Stanihurst was the eldest son of a prominent Pale family with a long history of service to the crown, and "Stanihurst's notion of a 'state' may have been nothing more than his awareness of the traditions and aspirations of the community in which he lived during his childhood and

young adulthood" (Lennon *Richard Stanihurst* 81). He defends the Palesmen but he also criticizes them. More to the point, he works out a scheme in his "Description of Ireland" in which he records their alienation from Elizabethan administrators alongside a change in reform policies that transforms Ireland into a military state, an island in the perpetual state of war. The decline of the Old English ascendancy essentially marked an end to more conciliatory reform strategies. Stanihurst's use of Gerald's *Expugnatio* as a source is well known. What is less examined is how he uses Gerald's defense of the Cambro-Norman lords to stress that the government of Ireland should be left in the hands of their descendants, who are more familiar, sensitive, and thus, able to the negotiate the delicate and often troubled relationship between the natives and the English government.

Under the new order, the Old English community was considered by the English government as largely negligible in matters that had to do with the government of Ireland. Though the Palesmen remained loyal to the crown, they understood the precarious positions that they were put in and adapted accordingly:

> By the mid 1570s… [the prejudices against them] were clear; but instead of denouncing the Crown, the Palesmen regrouped as 'commonwealth-men', defenders of 'Ireland as a commonwealth separate from that of England but enjoying the same monarch'[…] They do not seem to have objected to the extension of English influence over Ireland as a whole, or to the presence of an English lord deputy and a large number of English officials. But they insisted upon a guiding role for what they took to be ignorant, maladroit, and frequently excessive method of interloping Englishmen. (Bottigheimer 50)

These "commonwealth men" saw their traditional roles as English keepers to Ireland, whose experience in war and administration came from a long line of ancestors dating back to the first invasion. Yet, they were increasingly viewed with disregard and contempt by the new government. In the light of these conditions, Stanihurst's "Description" may appear to endorse Elizabethan policies that seek to discredit the old order, made especially apparent when he criticizes Old English "degeneration." But on closer examination, his representations of the Pale and the natives results in a narrative that calls for a return to older forms of government that will allow the Old English and the natives to co-exist, even within a segregated society. The new government is written out of this narrative. Far from promoting the prevailing ideological machinery that advocates reform through military means, Stanihurst writes against these views. Instead, he tries to restore the declining influence of the Old English order that is more inclined to conciliatory approaches to reforming the Irish. Writing against the backdrop of the *Expugnatio* and towards the concerns of his day. As I will demonstrate, Stanihurst uses a rhetorical strategy that condemns the degeneration of English culture within the Old English community to align their interests with the New English. After he has reassured and reinforced the Old English commitment to the New English cause, he expresses hope that a united English community in Ireland that could potentially put an end to warfare through educational reforms.

In Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle*, division of Ireland is a division of land, people, and cultures. The opening section of Stanihurst's "Description" sets the tone for much of the chronicle in calling attention to the notion that Ireland is a land divided. Early comments about the geography of Ireland, as with much of the information on medieval Ireland, are taken from Gerald's *Topographia*, which Stanihurst acknowledges in the notes on the margins and the text. His updates to Gerald's descriptions of Ireland during the intervening years. His representations

of the island informs readers not only about the development of the island but also about the way in which it is perceived in the eyes of an Old Englishman like himself. The land which he inhabits is mapped out into different sections. Ireland is divided into four regions: Leinster (east), Connaught (west), Ulster (north), and Munster (south). Dublin, the heart of the Pale, is in Leinster. But Stanihurst reminds readers that this region is much like a separate part of Ireland:

> There is an other diuision of Irelande, into the English pale and Irishry […] in aucient tyme [the Pale] stretched from Doondalke to Catherlagh or Kilkeny. But now, what for the slackness of marchoures, and the encrochyng of the Irish enemy, the scope of the English pale is greatly empayred, and is cramperned and coucht into an odde corner of the country named Fingall, with a parcel of the king his land (13).

For Stanihurst, Ireland is a land divided and a people divided in which each division has a distinct culture that is unlike the others. The separation is also to draw the Pale closer to London and further away from the "wild Irish": "By reaffirming the 'mere' Englishness of the Pale's inhabitants, by representing Dublin as 'the Irish or young London,' Stanihurst asserts the cultural purity of Dublin's English inhabitants" (Ivic 478). Stanihurst's representation of the Pale in light of the military achievements of the lord deputies, particularly in the 1570s, depicts a region that is immensely insular. In reality, decreasing landholdings of what he considers to be the Pale clearly does not extend very far outside of Dublin and its outskirts.

Stanihurst faults the hostile Irish and the marchers for the decay of the Pale, yet there have been no marchers since the fall of Kildare; but he does so to assert the ancestry of the Palemen in Elizabethan Ireland. After 1541, the English government became responsible for the maintenance and defense of the Pale. But instead of blaming an incapable colonial government, Stanihurst chooses instead to blame their marcher ancestors. Stanihurst's view of the Pale in the

1570s reflects an aspect of an Old English mindset that has not changed very much: the defense of the Pale ought to be a priority for the crown, and the area can only be secure if there are powerful marcher lords who are dedicated to defending its borders. James Muldoon has described this condition, if it can be called a condition, as "siege mentality" (107). As I have demonstrated in my discussion of Gerald's *Expugnatio*, this "siege" mentality developed from the first invasion, when the marcher lords found themselves in a unique position of being neither particularly inclined to serve the interests of the crown, nor the natives. Instead, the marcher lords created their own distinct society. Furthermore, as Ciaran Brady argues, their "siege mentality" perceives Dublin as the seat of English government irrelevant:

> the Palesmen continued to regard their administration in Dublin less as the royal instrument for the rule of the whole island, than as the seat of their own local government… they looked to its courts as means of processing their own affairs, settling their internal differences, and defending their own interests rather than as channels for the implementation of royal policy. ("Court, Castle and County" 36–37)

Brady's comment stresses a very important quality that characterized the Old English community but this distinct quality would also render it vulnerable in the face of Elizabethan reforms: historical legacy was more important to the Palesmen, and this perception was entirely incompatible with the ideologies of the New Englishmen, who did not come from Old English stock. As a result the members of the New English government that did not see eye-to-eye with their Old English counterparts. Stanihurst's sense of the insular Pale stems from his views on representation of how Ireland ought to be governed.

The clash of ideology between the New English and the Old English is especially apparent in their views of extending English rule to all of Ireland. The Palesmen's lack of

enthusiasm for island-wide reform programs was not an indication of their disloyalty to crown ambitions (though it was often considered to be so by their New English colleagues), but rather a reaction to a sense of loss: for hundreds of years, the Pale was protected as if it were the last bastion of English power in Ireland, but by the mid-sixteenth century, it served as the seat of English royal authority only through the lord deputy's office, and the lord deputies were themselves Englishmen from London. The English government's plans to reform all of Ireland placed the Palesmen at a disadvantage; what was once an internal government that attended only to matters within the jurisdiction of the Pale turned into a colonial government that was responsible for the reformation of the entire island. The consequences were immediately apparent. The resources that were once dedicated to the management and protection of the Pale now had to be extended to the rest of the country leaving the region vulnerable to attacks from Irish rebels. The priorities of the Elizabethan government were not compatible with the Old English community. The New English aimed to extend English rule throughout the whole country while the Old English often felt that they were exploited—through taxation and other impositions—for reform policies that they did not support anyways. Their opposition was simply regarded as "degeneration" in the eyes of the New English. Cultural decline was yet another way for the New English to undermine Old English credibility.

Stanihurst was well aware of this problem, and instead of outright criticizing the lack of protection in the Pale in his day, he associates the problem with the medieval marchers and blames them for the much contracted size of the Pale. He explains that the boundaries of the Pale have shrunk over time because of the encroaching Irish, but that the "slackness of marchoures" is to be blamed. The marchers' slackness, however, has nothing to do with their military might or lack thereof, but rather their inability to segregate themselves from the natives. He claims that in

the old days, the Old English were unquestionably unwavering in maintaining English culture and habits. However, things have changed since then:

> But when their posteritie became not all together so wary in keeping, as their auncestors were valiant in conquering, and the Irish language was free dennized in the English pale: this canker tooke such deepe roote, as the body that before was whole and sounde, was by little and little festered, and in maner wholy putrified (14).

Stanihurst uses the image of the diseased body to assert the threat of a contamination that can become uncontrollable. Interaction with the Irish is the cause of this condition: "the very English of birth, conuersant with the sauage sort of that people become degenerate, & as though they had tasted of Circe's poisoned cup, are quite altered" (115). In this narrative, Stanihurst demonstrates that his views are in line with the New English. But despite acknowledging the degeneration of the Old English, he reminds readers that Dublin, the stronghold of the Old English community, "is not in antiquitie inferior to any citie in Irelande, so in pleasaunt situation, in gorgeous buildings, in multitude of people, in martial chiualrie, in obedience and loyaltie… in maners and ciulitie, it is superior to all other Cyties and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonly called the Irishe or yong London" (39). Here, Stanihurst underscores the notion that even though the Old Englishmen adopted Irish customs and language, they were not necessary disloyal to the English crown. As such, his ideas of degeneration deviate from the New English.

In the era of the New English, the Old English lacked cultural markers that make them "English" at a time when these markers were used as a yardstick to measure loyalty to the English crown. The New English believed that the Old English interaction with the Irish made them more susceptible to empathizing with the Irish rebels. Stanihurst depicts the Old English community of his day as having degenerated, saying that due to their so-called slackness the size

of the Pale had shrunk to a miserable state in the 1570s. Nonetheless, he views their ancestors as exemplary colonizers. In his description of "The ciuilitie of Ireland in auncient tyme," he notes: "[A]s long as these empaled dwellers did sunder themselves, as wel in land as in language, from the Irishe: rudeness was day by day in the country supplanted, ciuilitie engrafted, good lawes established, loyaltie obserued, rebellion suppressed" (14)." Unlike the New English who considered degeneracy to be a permanent mark of condemnation, Stanihurst believes that the process of degeneration can be reversed through re-segregation.

Since the New English associated "gaelicisation" with defiance against the English monarch, Stanihurst must "erase" the degeneration from the Pale to persuade his readers to assert Old English loyalty to the crown. He depicts the Palesmen as a people who have the cultural markers that the new government demands. Stanihurst's representation of the Palesmen and of Dublin, the seat of colonial government, attempts to negate the anxieties of degeneration, and in turn, to alleviate fears that those who live close to the Irish would be influenced into turning against crown authority. Before Stanihurst describes the Irish, he informs his readers that his observations of the Irish do not apply to everyone in Ireland:

> [R]eader, do not impute any barbarous custome that shall be here layde downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and the inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ little or nothyng form the auncient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Walshmen, beyng therefore as mortally behated of the Irish as those that are borne in England. (112)

Again, the standard of a perfect Old English people and an idealized Pale are held up as something that has remained unchanged since the twelfth century, when the early conquerors did not suffer the "contamination" by the Irish by remaining within boundaries of the Pale. But more

importantly, in pointing out that the Palesmen felt the same way about the Irish as their English-born colleagues, Stanihurst tries to convince readers that the Anglo-Irish and English ought to be considered as a united political unit at a time when the English were more inclined to perceive the Anglo-Irish as a dangerous alliance against the crown.

These sentiments increasingly alienated the Old English community from the English government. In marginalizing the Old English, the English government encouraged "the growth of an articulate opposition movement which cut across traditional factional politics, undermined respect for the viceroyalty, and threatened to unite Gaelic and Old English opinion against Tudor rule," and that by the late 1570s, "traditional consensus politics were near collapse and a political climate was emerging which was conducive to the spread of novel ideological forms of opposition" (Ellis *Tudor Ireland* 228). The ability to contribute to policy-making is essentially the ability to shape the colonial government in Ireland. Interventionist approaches may have worked to the advantage of the crown but they generally did not do so for the Old English community, since they drained what limited resources that were left from the administration of the Pale, and guaranteed the arrival of more New Englishmen, many of whom would bring their prejudices against degenerated Old Englishmen with them to Ireland. Stanihurst attempts to persuade readers that the Old English and New English share a similar abhorrence of Irishness, and that they have a shared sense of Englishness. Stanihurst's narrative does not seek to discredit the New Englishmen in relation to colonial government in Ireland, but it aims to resurrect an old order when experienced Palesmen worked with their English governors and his council on reform policies.

Reforming of the Irish through Education

The Palesmen's unease with the new government's reform strategies stemmed from the drastic change of policy during the transition period between Mary's and Elizabeth's reign. With several brief interruptions, Anthony St. Leger served three times as lord deputy during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. His legacy to early modern Ireland was the Surrender and Regrant program.[12] Early forms of this program, which began in the 1530s, was formalized after Ireland became a kingdom of the English crown. St. Leger's policy was groundbreaking because it was the first reform program that sought to bring the Irish chieftains under crown control in a systematic manner: Irish chieftains were persuaded to surrender their lands to the crown, which would then be regranted to them intact under certain conditions. They were required to hold those lands as freehold from the king, swear loyalty to the English crown, and conform to English customs and laws. The conciliatory nature of this policy invited criticism from his rivals who were promoting more aggressive methods of reform. But it was regarded to be immensely successful by many others and he was able to bring some of the most influential chieftains to submission.[13] The rehabilitation of formerly rebellious Irish rebels ensured that the Pale remained secure to a considerable level, and he was viewed favorably by both the Irish population and the English government. Stanihurst describes him as "a wise and wary Gentleman, a valiant seruitor in warre, and a good Iusticer in peace, properly learned, a good maker in the Englishe, hauing

[12] For representations of St. Leger's policy, see Christopher Maginn's "Surrender and Regrant in the Historiography of Sixteenth-Century Ireland" (2008).

[13] The success of the Surrender and Regrant program is debatable particularly when we consider the prominence and landholdings of the Irish chieftains who submitted. The formidable and contentious Earldom of Tyrone, whose leaders remain threatening to the crown throughout the Tudor period, was created under St. Leger, with the submission of Conn O'Neill in 1541 (Hayes-McCoy 49–50). However, Nicholas Canny reminds us that St. Leger's program was only met with "limited success" in the lordships of Clarincard and Thomond (*Elizabethan Conquest* 34)

grauitie so enterlaced with pleasantnesse as with an exceeding good grace he would attaine the one without pouting dumpishnesse, and exercise the other without loathfull lightnesse," and despite the Palesmen's complaints of the tax he imposed on the Pale, they generally felt that "[h]is gouerment had beene of the Countrey very well lyked" (310).[14]

St. Leger's reform strategies, which aimed to consolidate royal authority through persuasion and co-operation with the natives and Old English, were dismantled when Sussex took over as lord deputy in 1556. Sussex's reform programs were largely aggressive and depended on military force. The constructions of garrisons and forts, populated with English military men, first initiated by lord deputy Edward Bellingham in the late 1540s, were adopted with renewed enthusiasm during Sussex's administration.[15] He was notorious for granting priviledged offices to his friends and family members, all from England, and was determined to remove all Anglo-Irish from these positions.[16] Such favoritism caused his alienation from the Anglo-Irish community. When the plantations in Laios and Offaly were approved in the 1560 parliament, the Old English had great hopes that the newly restored Kildare would be placed in charge of the project, and more immediately, in the distribution of land. As the Palesmen

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[14] Stanihurst does not elaborate on the Surrender and Regrant policy, and in closing his section on the lord deputy, mentions charges of simony made against him. A more detailed study of the charges made against him can be found in Christopher Maginn's "A Window on Mid-Tudor Ireland: the 'Matters' against Lord Deputy St. Leger, 1547-8" (2005). St. Leger's conciliatory methods also made him suspicious in the eyes of his critics, who felt that he was consorting with the enemy.

[15] The two areas that were primarily placed under these conditions were the plantations were in Offaly (Philipstown) and Laios (Maryborough). Both regions came under crown control during Mary's reign, when Bellingham served a short one-year term as lord deputy.

[16] Sussex's favoritism and his prejudice against the Old English provoked widespread criticism in the Pale; an unnamed source was said to have complained of Ireland's revenue going into "the bagges of some as the arle of Sussex, Sir Harry Radcliffe, his brother, Stanley the marshal, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Wingfield, Cowlie, Stafford, Cosby, and an infinite number of such cormorants that gaping for private gayne have from naked persons enriched themselves to great wealthe and substance" (qtd. in Canny *Elizabethan Conquest* 36).

depended on the Kildares, the traditional keepers of the midlands marches, to promote Old English interests with the English monarch, they were deeply disappointed to discover that Sussex had appointed his brother Henry Radcliffe for the position: "Indeed, by 1563 the spoils of those two counties [Laios and Offaly] had been divided among 88 individuals 'half of whom had connections with the army and 29 of whom were native Irish, thus leaving only 15 Anglo-Irish who benefited' " (Bottigheimer 49). The distribution of lands were a clear indication that the English government was trying to oust the Anglo-Irish from landholding positions, which would also affect their ability to participate in parliament, and in turn, deprive them of the ability to contribute to policy-making.

The shifting policies between Leger and Sussex are important and relevant to Stanihurst's views of reform because of the hopes that were pinned on Sussex's successor, Sir Henry Sidney. Because Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* ends with the administration of St. Leger, in 1554, we have no indication of how Sidney figures in this historical narrative, but we know that the book is dedicated to Sidney. As with all histories, Stanihurst hopes that Sidney would find be able to find lessons in his book that would aid him in the task of governing Ireland. He tells Sidney that the purpose of his writing is to put corrupt officials to perpetual shame, and "vright gouernors to their eternall fame," and that the lord deputy should strive to be the latter is unquestionable. In fact, Stanihurst's aim, in hoping that the lord deputy will lend an ear to his views about Ireland, is explicitly stated. He does not allow Sidney to forget his obligations to the people of Ireland, and that is, the Old English:

> For as it is no small commendacion for one to beare the dooings of so many, so it breedeth great admiration generally to haue all those qualities *in one man herboured*, for which particularly diuers are eternized […]. Vpon which grounde the learned haue, not

> without cause adiuged an hystorie to be the Marrowe of reason, the creame of experience, the sappe of wysedome, the pith of iudgement, the library of knowledge, the kernell of pollicie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie… And that our Irishe hystorie being diligently heeded, yeeldeth al these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwyning thereof, will not denie. (9)

Others, Stanihurst claims, may turn away from reading this history of Ireland because of a weak stomach or because they cannot "digest the grose draffe of so base a countrey," but he has no doubt that Sidney would not be one of those. The dedication is undated, though Sidney served as lord deputy for two terms, between 1565 and 1571 (with a brief interruption), and between 1575 and 1578. It is more likely that Stanihurst wrote his dedication during the second term, since he particularly mentions that the lord deputy "is thoroughly aquaynted with the woorthiness of the Island," perhaps from his first term.[17] If this is so, Stanihurst may be making the final appeal for Sidney to reverse his more aggressive reform programs to "set things right" before he completes his term. Karl Bottigheimer has noted that Old English hopes were dashed when the Sidney expressed similar prejudices against them and, like his predecessor, saw them as "gaelicized" Englishmen (50). Furthermore, Sidney continued to follow Sussex's model in turning Ireland into a military state, and as we will see in the next chapter, he tried to extend English law and royal authority beyond the Pale and his forced exactions from the Palesmen to finance his reform programs resulted in discontent both among the Irish and the Old English. Sidney's aggressive

[17] My speculation does not rule out the possibility that the dedication could have been written much earlier, during Sidney's first term in office. His former acquaintance with Ireland could also come from his office as Vice-Treasurer and Lord Justice to Ireland in the decade preceding his deputyship. In this case, Stanihurst could well be appealing to Sidney to bring an end to Sussex's unpopular reform programs.

approach towards the natives was, in Stanihurst's view, counterproductive to the reformation of the Irish.

Stanihurst's representation of the Irish is relevant to his appeal to Sidney. Even though the *Irish Chronicle* uses the material from Gerald's *Topographia* to describe Ireland and the Irish, he does not depict the natives with the same repulsiveness as his twelfth-century source. In fact, his accounts are much closer to Edmund Campion's *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland* (1571). The debt that he owes Campion is noted in his dedicatory epistle, where he informs readers that his history of Ireland is an expansion on the work of Campion, as his mentor. Stanihurst's descriptions of the Irish are not nearly as extensive as Gerald's, and Stanihurst is especially restrained in judging their behaviors. The "wild Irish" or "mere Irish" to Stanihurst are a mixed sort; they are "religious, franke, amorous, irefull, sufferable of infinte paynes, very glorious, many socerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great almesgiuers, passing in hospitality," and clerks and lay men who receive good breeding and are reformed are "such myrrors of hlynes and austeritie that no other nations retain but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them" (112–13).

The practice of fosterage is mentioned, as in *Topographia*, but Stanihurst does not condemn the Irish with the same vehemence that Gerald does ("Woe to brothers among a barbarous race!"). In fact, Stanihurst's representation of Irish fosterage sounds almost nurturing: "They loue theyr foster children, and bequeath to them a childes portion wherby they nourish sure friendship, so beneficiall euery way that, commonly, 500 cowes and better are giuen in reward to win a noble mans child to foster; they loue & trust theyr foster brethren more then their owne" (113). What Gerald and the New English consider to be potential threats from their enemies' alliance are not only rewritten as a pact between friends, but are also presented in the

metaphor of child fostering practice and transaction that involves some pride and honor. Not everyone can win the fosterage of a nobleman's child, and when it is won, the trust between parent and fosterer is sealed in the promise of the care of the foster child, whom the foster parents take more care to look after than they do their own children. Similarly, Stanihurst does, like Gerald, denounce the Irish practice of not swaddling their newborns; Irish infants are simply "folded vppe starke naked in a blanket till they can go" (113).

Stanihurst's representations of the Irish can begin to explain his seemingly contradicting views on the Old English interaction with the natives. Scholars such as Richard McCabe have asked how we can reconcile Stanihurst's proclaimation that Ireland is his "native country" with his criticism of Irish customs and habits (" Holinshed's *Chronicles*" 55). Those who have found it difficult to reconcile these two views should make a distinction between Stanihurst's representations of the Irish and his view of *how* to reform the Irish. In his interaction model, the Irish "gaelicise" their English superiors—something that Stanihurst and the New English find objectionable and unacceptable. Stanihurst's idea of cultural segregation is grounded in what he believes to be the best way to reform the Irish. He believes that the English should not be in contact with the Irish lest they become *gaelicised*, but that the English should interact with the Irish to *anglicise* them. To anglicise the Irish is to have them speak the language of the colonist.

For Stanihurst, language is essential to reform. He commends the ancient Old English population in Fingal and Wexford for their strong adherence to English customs, especially their commitment of using English, in the midst of Irish speakers. However, the Pale of his day had declined and decayed after, because of the Old English interaction with their Irish neighbors. The whole problem of decline, after the encounter is made, originates in the acquisition of the enemy's language:

> Neighbourhoode bredde acquaintance, acquaintance wafted in the Irish tongue, the Irish hooked with it attyre, attyre haled rudenes, rudenesse engendred ignorance, ignoraunce brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequently the vtter decay and desolation of that worthy countrey (16)

The Irish language is depicted as a threat to the English state but it is also a sign of a failed conquest. Stanihurst uses classical precedence to demostrate the absurdity of role-reversal, and notes that Marcus Cicero, who observed the Romans adopting Greek fashions and customs, "not so much respecting the neateness of the language, as the naughty fruit it brough wyth it, sayde, that his countreymen, the Romaynes, resembled the bond slaues of *Siria*" (17).

In colonial narratives, the resistance to learning the colonizer's language is not simply interpreted as a resistance to cultural assimilation, but as a rejection of the new national identity that is imposed on the natives. As John Davies notes in his *Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612), language is no less important than law when it comes to erasing the Irish past. He is hopeful that with a complete conquest, the Irish will "for the most part send their children to schools, especially to learn the English language: so as, we may conceive an hope that the next generation will in tongue and heart, and every way else, become English, so there will be no difference or distinction but the Irish Sea betwixt us" (217). As Tony Crowley has observed, the efforts that were made to outlaw the use of the Irish language and prevent further gaelicisation, especially in areas under English jurisdiction, are in reality representations that detail the gaelicisation of the English and not the anglicisation of the Irish (169). We need only turn to Stanihurst to understand the significance of this observation when he expresses his exasperation at the Irish resistance to the English language: "why the Englishe pale is more giuen to learne the Irishe, then the Irishman is willing to learne Englishe?

We must embrace their language, and they detest oures"; the last O'Neill (Shane), he claimed, refused to speak in English because he could not bear to "wryeth his mouth in clattering Englishe" (17). Interestingly, Hugh O'Neill submitted in English after his defeat at Kinsale in 1603; in doing so, he was not merely defeated as a military commander, but was stripped of his identity as an Irishman.

The extent of language reform through statutes and punishment had limited success and persuasion, although education was also considered to be a plausible method of getting the Irish to adopt the language of their colonizers. In 1536, Henry VIII issued a letter to the inhabitants of Galway that everyone should "put forth your childe to scole, to lerne to speke Englyshe, and that you fayll nott to fulfill theys oure commaundementys, as you tendre oure favor, and woll avoyde our indygnacion and highe dyspleasure" (*SP* 1515-38/309). Reform through persuasion and education was not immensely popular with the New English, who believed that the barbarous Irish were irredeemable. However, in Stanihurst's day, it was still considered to be feasible by the Old English. In Sidney's 1569 parliament, James Stanihurst, Richard's father and speaker of the Irish House of Commons and recorder of Dublin, advocated the building of a university in Ireland and grammar schools in every diocese, hoping that they would create an environment that would influence "owre unquiett neighbores woulde find such swetnes in the taste therof as it should be a readie waye to reclaime them" (144). Edmund Campion, who wrote his *Histories of Ireland* while a guest with the Stanihursts, produced conceivably the first history of the island in which the natives are described as "sharpe witted, lovers of learning, capable of any studie whereunto they bende themselves, constant in travaile, aventurous, intractable, kynde hearted, secreate in displeasure" (19). In discussing the relationship between the Irish and Old English he notes: "Suche a force hathe education to make or marre" (19–20).

Stanihurst's education in Kilkenny and his humanist training from Kilkenny to Oxford play an important role in his vision of Irish reform. During the 1540s, a municipal school functioned in Dublin for a brief period but attempts to set up a school in Kilkenny through government support was unsuccessful. There was however, a functioning grammar school in Limerick. This school came under the patronage of the earl of Desmond and was managed by Richard Creagh, better known as the catholic Archbishop of Armagh.[18] The Kilkenny school that Stanihurst attended was founded before 1539 by the Earl of Ossory and Ormond, Piers Butler, and his wife, Margaret Fizgerald. The master of this school was Peter White, an Old English teacher from a prominent family in Waterford and an MA graduate of Oriel College, Oxford, and according to Colm Lennon, the cirriculum at the school, like the one in Limerick, "concentrated heavily on philology and grammar, reflecting the humanistic concerns of its master" (Lennon "Pedagody" 46). White's influence on Stanihurst is made explicitly apparent in his chronicle; writing as a graduate from Oxford and a tutor himself (to the Kildare children), Stanihurst introduces his teacher as a schoolmaster who has greatly furthered "the whole weale publike of Ireland," and continues:

> This gentlemans methode in trayning vp youth was rare and sinuler, framyng the education according to the scholers vaine […] he had so good successe in the realme of Ireland that was *no Grammer schoole so good, in Englande*, I am well assured, no better […] And certes, I acknowledge myselfe so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the walles of that famous schoole (my emphasis) (59–60).

[18] Peter White's curriculum is discussed in more detail in Colm Lennon's "Pedagogy and Reform" (2007).

That Stanihurst reveres his teacher is unquestionable. But Stanihurst's claim that there is no grammar school in England that surpasses the quality of teaching and education of the Kilkenny grammar school is striking for several reasons: unlike the New English, he does not perceive Ireland, in particular the Pale, as a place that is cut off from the civility that is England. In fact, the Old English (that is, Peter White and the students at his school) have created an education system and standards superior to the schools in England. Furthermore, the two grammar schools in Limerick and Kilkenny operated independently from government schemes. Though both schools were attended by children of the Pale elite and not by the natives, it is important to note that they were set up under the patronage of the ruling Old English families with little to no support from the English government. The development of schools and universities in Ireland was increased in Henry VIII's reign and continued into Elizabeth's time. But the repeated failures of these schools signal a lack of commitment and reluctance on the part of the government to establish a functional education system in Ireland for the Old English community, much less for the natives.[19] The value that Stanihurst placed on education and its long term effects and potential to, in the words of his university teacher, White, "make or marre" a person, are important when we consider Stanihurst's ideas for reforming the natives.

Unlike the New English of Sussex's administration who saw the so-called "wild Irish" as a people who could only be persuaded to obedience through force and violence, Stanihurst recognizes that the Irish are not devoid of learning or of the capacity to learn. He notes that they

[19] Since the fifteenth century, Old English students who wanted to pursue an education in Oxford or Cambridge had to prove undoubted loyalty to the English crown before they could be considered for admission. After the reformation, Oxford and Cambridge were no longer options for the catholic Old English students; many chose to attend universities on the continent where they were less likely to be persecuted for their religious inclinations. The letters patent for Trinity College was issued in 1592, and under Elizabeth's instructions, the university was to provide a Protestant education for students.

have a knowledge of Latin, though they speak it "lyke a vulgar language." Diamaid Ó Catháin has commented that Latin was widely used amongst the learned in Ireland, since the medieval era, and became increasingly used especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, when church and trade linked the Irish to continental Europe: "[By] the later part of the sixteenth century Latin was the second language of the educated in Ireland, and the normal medium used by the Irish chiefs in communication with the English and other foreigners" (18). Around 1600, "it has been stated that the Irish emerge from the accounts of travellers as being among the best in Europe for their proficiency in Latin" (18). In the 1570s, however, Stanihurst notes that Irish school children are taught the learned language of the Europeans in schools, and despite their lack of proficiency, they are schooled for "16 or 20 yeres, connyng by rote the Aphorismes of Hypocrates, and the ciuill institutes, with a few other paringes of those faculties," and the students "groouel vpon couches of straw, their bookes at their noses, themselues lye flate prostrate, & so they chaunt out with a lowd voyce their lessons by peecemeale, repeating two or three wordes 30 or 40 tymes together" (114). The Irish schools appear to have been less sophisticated than the Old English ones, both in their curriculum and classroom environment, but Stanihurst does not consider these shortfalls as signs of barbarity and incivility. Instead, there is a sense of admiration that the Irish have been able to set up systematic learning practices, to make do with what is available, and more importantly, to recognize the importance of learning and knowledge. True to his humanist education, Stanihurst argues that with the right influences, the Irish have the capacity to learn, and through learning, reform.

For Stanihurst, the Irish lack of sophistication in comparison with other European nations is not traced to their savage customs and language, but rather to their lack of resources. His zealous reponse to a pamphlet written by one Alan Cope (a pseudonym Nicholas Harpsfield)

suggests that the Irish can be reformed, through persuasion, not violence, under the right conditions. Cope's pamphlet is a skeptical piece that is preoccupied with the wonders of Ireland, particularly, the well-known story that St. Patrick banished all venomous creatures from Ireland, but in an attack of the Irish, Cope notes: "And therevppon it is reported perchase by some men, that there is nothing venomous or poysoned in Ireland, but the men and women, which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and saluadge manners" (27). Stanihurst simply dimisses the story as an invention, but he takes offense at Cope's deprecation of the Irish condition: Cope should not make such harsh judgements of a people he has never seen. Stanihurst defends the Irish and compares them to the more sophisticated Germans: "I could neuer espy, nor probably haue I hearde it reported, no, not of the merre sauage Irish, such quaffling, such swilling, such bowling, such gulling… such vomiting as I haue seen some Germaines doe," and that if Cope "cast his eye homeward, he shall finde as filthy puddle in his owne countrey as in other realmes" (28).

The crux of Stanihurst's refutation of Cope's commentary of the sorry state of Ireland lies in his representation of the Irish as a people who do not have the privileges of more developed countries like Germany. Stanihurst traces this lack to what the English reform programs *should have* and have *not* done:

> So it fareth with the rude inhabitantes of Irelande they lacke Vniversities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are reuoyde of all such necessaries as appertayne to the trayning vp of youth, and nothwithstandyng all these wantesm if any would be so frowardly set as to require them to vse such ciulitie as other regions that are sufficiently furnished with the lyke helpes, he might be accounted

> as vnreasonable as he that would force a cripple that lacketh both his legs to runne, or one to pipe or whistle a galliard that wanteth hys vpper lippe. (29)

Stanihurst's criticism of Cope is telling but it is also problematic in several ways. Harpsfield (under the cover of A. Cope) was a catholic Englishman who fled to Belgium during the religious reformation in Edward VI's reign. His homeland was England. Stanihurst's comparison of Germany with Ireland is meant to emphasize the latter as undeveloped, but as having inhabitants more laudable than the German drunks. When he tells Cope to look "homeward" to first judge the "filthy puddle" in his own country, he appears to be telling Cope to look to Germany, but in fact Cope's "filthy puddle" is England! Stanihurst rejects Cope's attack on Ireland, and in this defense, he implicitly criticizes the impatient and violent reformist policies that were applied to Ireland since Sussex's administration. He uses the image of forcing a cripple to walk as an analogy to the impossibility of forcing an uncivil people to become civilized overnight. Compelling the Irish to become English is as unreasonable and absurd as forcing the cripple to walk. Patient rehabilitation is necessary in creating change. For Stanihurst, the change is possible because the Irish already have what it takes to be changed: they may have barbarous customs and habits, but as he also observes, in describing their wit and their schools, the Irish have the capacity to learn and this alone promises potential reform.

Stanihurst's history of Ireland is also a history of the displaced and dispossessed. His writing responds to the impending demise of the Old English ascendancy. Kildare's restoration failed to revive Old English dominance in the face of Sussex's administration, and two years after the publication of the inaugural edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, the Munster lordship of Desmond would collapse and the confiscation of his lands would bring about yet another opportunity to appropriate lands. The only Old English family that remained was the Ormonds,

and they would have their fair share of troubles in the 1580s and 90s, with the queen and her governors. The decline of the Old English community also saw an end to more conciliatory approaches towards the Irish. Nicholas Canny has commented that the Old English were less inclined to support interventionist methods in reforming Ireland and prefered more persuasive methods not because they were sympathetic to the Irish plight, but because aggressive reform programs threatened their own interests: if forceful policies proved to be successful, Ireland would see more New Englishmen than ever before, and they would "weaken the Old English claim to be the sole upholders of English civil standards in Ireland" (*Kingdom and Colony* 4).

Taking into account the tensions between the Old and New English and their views on authority and reform, Sir Henry Sidney becomes an immensely difficult figure to read within the context of Stanihurst's work. It is very likely that Stanihurst is appealing to the lord deputy to protect the interest of the Old English community and to some degree, the welfare of the natives. There is some St. Leger in Sidney; when Englishmen were chosen to preach in Ireland, Sidney pointed out to the queen that "in the 'heathennish' parts 'where the English Tounge is not understood, it is more necessarie, that soche be chosen, as can speak Irishe" (qtd. in Palmer 128). He is often criticized for having been too liberal with the Irish, and yet his ambition to reform all of Ireland became a point of contention with the Pale community. Angered by the tax charges that Sidney imposed on them, the Palesmen went straight to the queen to complain about the oppression they were forced to endure under his administration. Whose interest was Sidney protecting? In *Histories of Ireland*, Campion describes Sidney as a man "surelie muche loved of them from his first office of Treasorer" and that the was "in consultations very temparate" (151). Sussex is also praised, as a formidable soldier and military commander, but his personality is a

stark contrast to Sidney; Sussex is a man "meter to rule than to be ruled"—the tyranny of Sussex's rule in England is unmistakable in Campion's account.

Even though Stanihurst was writing later than Campion and uses Campion's work as one of his source texts, he ends his chronicle with the end of St. Leger's term as lord deputy: there is no discussion of Sussex or Sidney. Why would Stanihurst dedicate his work to Sidney and yet not record his deeds, even in passing, especially since he is at pains to acknowledge his debt to Campion in the same dedication? I suggest that Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle* is shaped in this seemingly puzzling form precisely because he is appealing to Sidney to restore Ireland to the way it existed in St. Leger's time; St. Leger is the last governor whose fame will be remembered in the chronicle. By stopping with St. Leger's tenure, Stanihurst essentially writes the military government of Sussex out of the history of Ireland, and he leaves it to be remade by Sidney, who is still in the running to become one of the "vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled" (9). And as we will see in the next chapter, Sidney would indeed be raised to such a level in the next edition of Holinshed's chronicle, and ironically, in the hands of John Hooker, Sidney would be also dangerously depicted as the overmighty subject whose authority in Ireland could supersede that of his queen.

Chapter 2. "Triumph abroad but ridicule at home": Sir Henry Sidney's Deputyship and the Limitations of Royal Authority in Ireland

The office of Lord Deputy in early modern Ireland was one of the most powerful positions in European politics, yet it remains a neglected area of study amongst English and Irish historians alike. The Irish viceroy could dispense justice and patronage in a way no other comparable official on the continent could.

Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley[1]

But however these good Services were relished in *Ireland*, where the Fruits of them were felt and perceived, yet in *England* they [the lord deputies] were so little regarded, that no mention was made of them in any of the Publick Dispatches; but on the contrary, the Publick Letters to the Deputy, were full of Reprimands and sharp Reflections…

Sir Richard Cox[2]

At the end of the last chapter, I discussed Richard Stanihurst's stance on the English colonial government in Ireland as he tried to reassert the "Englishness" and importance of the Old English community in the 1577 edition of Holinshed's *Irish Chronicles*. Born and bred in the Pale, Stanihurst was hopeful that the government of the Ireland would be led by leaders who had more conciliatory approaches (both to the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish families) as opposed

[1] "Introduction: Irish Representations and English Alternatives," *Representing Ireland* (1993), 13.
[2] *Hibernia Anglicana* (1689), 326.

to those who promoted intolerant, interventionist policies. He dedicated the volume to Sir Henry Sidney especially because "your Lordship, above all others, in that you have the charge of that country, may here be schooled, by a right line to levell your government" (8–9). Unfortunately, by 1577 Sidney was already falling out of favor with the Pale community and at court for having imposed an unpopular new tax which angered the Palesmen in Ireland.

The social, economic and political conditions in Ireland hinged on the most important office of the English colonial government, that of the lord deputy. The core of this chapter seeks to explore the tensions between crown and governor through a study of Sidney's views of his own administration in his *Memoir* and of the representation of his government in the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Irish Chronicle* by John Vowell, alias Hooker. The juxtaposition of these two works delineates the discrepancies between ideological historical representation and the practical limitations of the office of the chief governor; it exposes the problems of power struggle and conflict entrenched within the internal government.

Sidney's *Memoir*

Sir Henry Sidney's *Memoir* is by far the most detailed and complete account of a lord deputy's experience in Ireland. He does not propose solutions to resolve the problems in Ireland but reflects on his achievements when he was in office. The relevance of his narrative to this chapter lies in his reflections *and* his reasons for doing so. In the first case, he recounts achievements in Ireland in the face of insurmountable difficulties and obstacles; in the second, he implicitly laments the injustice of not being rewarded or recognized for his efforts. When these

two aspects are brought together, the tensions between the office of the lord deputy in Ireland and the queen and her council in London shows itself to be irreconcilable. To demonstrate this, my study will first examine the reasons behind the composition of the memoir, and the factions in court that undermined Sidney's governorship in Ireland. These issues essentially created a rift between the queen and himself, and the government reflects this friction.

In the sixteenth century, the lord deputy's position was considered to be immensely prestigious largely because of the authority that came with it, but those who have been in that position often did not feel that way. In *Britannia* (1586), William Camden notes that the lord deputy's authority "is really large, ample and Royal…there is certainly no other Vice-roy in Christendom that comes the grandeur and majesty of a king" (973). Camden's comparison of the lord deputy's authority to "the grandeur and majesty of a king" underscores the problem here: as proxy to the queen, the lord deputy derived his authority to rule from her; yet these powers could threaten her authority when the lord deputy overstepped his boundaries as servant to the queen. He may be the proxy ruler in Ireland, but his actions could be overwritten by the queen's wishes if and when she felt it to be appropriate. But what is more important in considering this chain of authority is the notion that her wishes are, more often than not, influenced by those who surrounded the queen at court. In other words, though the lord deputy heads the highest office in Ireland, his authority was limited because he was consistently undermined by those whom he ruled over: they bypassed his authority and turned instead to the queen for recourse, and she, in turn held him accountable for their complaints. This section does not seek to defend Sidney's *Memoir* or list his accomplishments in Ireland, but rather, it focuses on the limitations of his authority as lord deputy and concentrates on his conflict with the Thomas Butler, the Earl of Ormond to highlight the implications of the lord deputy's estrangement from the English court.

Sidney's feud with Ormond shows that contrary to popular perception, the lord deputy's authority was in fact frequently undermined by the queen and her council.

The queen's interference with Sidney's authority in Ireland depleted his wealth, and he was forthright in blaming her for his plight. Sidney's introduction provides a framework that underscores possible reasons for his composition. His *Memoir* was written as a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's principal secretary, also was also father-in-law to Sidney's son, Philip. It begins with a lament of his financial straits.[3] He was laden in debt by this time and disappointed that Walsingham could not obtain favor from the queen on his behalf: "I find there is no hope of relief of her Majesty for my decayed estate in her Highness service," and he is "by sale of part of that which is left to ransom me out of the servitude I live in for my debts" (43). Sidney states forthrightly his reason for writing the memoir. He tells Walsingham that since the queen refuses to relieve him of his "decayed state" after having occupied the two highest offices in the realm (as President of Wales and Lord Deputy of Ireland), he should be not be asking for

[3] In his opening address, Sidney mentions the marriage between Philip Sidney and Frances Walsingham and asserts his "joy in the alliance with all my heart" despite initial difficulties, in particular the queen's displeasure of being informed of the arrangement after it has been made. The reasons for her displeasure are uncertain, as was indicated in Walsingham's letter to Christopher Hatton expressing his apprehension and puzzlement as to why the queen was offended: "If the manner be misliked for her Majesty is not made acquainted withal, I am no person of that state but that it may be thought a presumption for me to trouble her Majesty with a private marriage between a free gentleman of equal calling with my daughter" (qtd. in Wallace 293). Philip Sidney's biographer, Alan Stewart notes that Walsingham was anticipating the marriage more so than Sidney because Frances was involved in a "clandestine" marriage contract at age thirteen or fourteen to a John Wickerson, whom Walsingham was able to lock up in the debtor's prison of Marshalsea. (Frances was to be married to Philip at age 15.) Sidney's initial hesitance could be attributed to the state of his financial deterioration (248–49). More details on some of these complications can be found Malcolm William Wallace's *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (1915), 291–302; Roger Howell's *Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight* (1968), 93–96, and Alan Stewart's *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (2001), 248–52.

more; he feels compelled to "play a little too boldly in person of mine own herald," and so relate his service to his queen (43, 44).[4]

On the surface, Sidney's letter to Walsingham appears to persuade the queen to reconsider her refusal to reward him financially. In his introduction to the memoir, Ciaran Brady, who entitled the letter *A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland 1556–1578,* notes that, if Sidney's intention was to secure financial reward, then he made the wrong move, because "his adopted strategy was strangely self-defeating; for defiance, as everyone knew, had never been a fruitful means of exciting gratitude in Elizabeth" (6). Describing his services as President of Wales would be more suitable for his cause, especially since Sidney fell out of favor because of the problems in Ireland. Though Brady makes a good argument here, Sidney's rhetoric would have been far less forceful if he had chosen to detail his service in Wales. His address to Walsingham makes it quite clear why he must be his "own herald," and his justification of continuing the letter with an account of his experience in Ireland calls attention to a number of issues that were immensely important to him.

Sidney chose to discuss his governorship in Ireland precisely because there were more problems in Ireland than in Wales. His service to the crown was all the more commendable because he had taken on the burden of reforming Ireland knowing full well the insurmountable difficulties and resistance he would face there. Moreover, the letter was composed in March 1583 (two months after Walsingham informed him of his unsuccessful bid to intervene on

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[4] Sidney's assumption that the queen thinks he has been more than sufficiently provided for with his two offices, is recorded in Holinshed in an episode that describes Sidney's return to England, with the Earl of Desmond, who is under arrest for calling up a rebellion: "Hir majestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a window, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending upon him, and not knowing at first sight who it was, it was told to hir that it was Sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputy in Ireland; "Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best offices in England" (339).

Sidney's behalf), and at a time when Sidney showed signs of giving up all hope to receive any reward from the queen or furthering his pursuits to persuade her. He tells Walsingham: "for since you give it over, I will never make more means, but say *spes et fortuna valete*" (43).[5] Taking these factors into consideration, the letter was probably not an attempt to appeal to the queen, but a letter of accusation that exposed the injustice of the office and more poignantly, the utter lack of appreciation for his services. Reading the letter in this light, we can see that Sidney would follow the letter to Walsingham by describing his deputyship in Ireland.

Though the letter emphasizes his achievements in Ireland, Sidney does not merely list them, but more importantly, details the obstacles he had to endure to achieve them. This rhetorical mode underscores the entire document. His achievements are constructed as being all the more extraordinary in light of the sacrifices and injustices he was forced to face: "Three times her Majesty hath sent me her Deputy into Ireland, and in every of the three times I sustained a great and a violent rebellion, every one of which I subdued, and (with honorable peace) left the country in quiet. I returned from each of those three Deputations three thousand pounds worse than I went" (44). Monetary losses are noted briefly through the letter, but they do not surpass his claim to have suffered humiliation as the great lord deputy, whose imagined authority paralleled the "grandeur and majesty of a king." He emphasizes that this was especially so in the second rebellion he quelled, also known as the Butler Rebellion of 1569.[6] Sidney uses

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[5] Farewell to fortune and hope (trans. by Ciaran Brady).

[6] This is sometimes also known as the first Desmond Rebellion. Early sparks of the rebellion began with the Earl of Desmond and it reached its height with the participation of the Earl of Ormond's brothers, most notably Edmund Butler. The Butler Rebellion plays an important part in this section. Although I highlight relevant incidents in the event in terms of the Sidney-Ormond conflict, I will not be able to provide a comprehensive overview the event. David Edwards's "The Butler Revolt of 1569" (1993) is by far the most definitive and detailed account of the rebellion, and I am largely indebted to his essay for my understanding of the intricacies connected with the outbreak of the rebellion.

intrigue at court to underscore how he depicts his authority as lord deputy, and in how he depicts himself as victim to Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond, also known as Black Tom.

Sidney's *Memoir* is consistently preoccupied with Ormond and the self-representation of Sidney's authority in Ireland is, to a large degree, one that is defined through his relationship with Ormond; and, to a lesser degree, defined through his relationship with the earl's rebellious brothers. The context of the 1569 rebellion and Sidney's management of the events as they unfolded are integral to understanding his views of the authority he wielded. The lord deputy's relationships with the leading lords of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy had always had a direct impact on the political alliances forged in Ireland. Sidney's predecessor (and brother-in-law), Thomas Radcliffe, the Earl of Sussex, was more sympathetic to the Butlers than to their traditional enemy, the Fitzgeralds, at this time headed by Gerald Fitzgerald, the fifteenth Earl of Desmond. The feud between the two most prominent earls of Southern Ireland had always troubled the crown as their attacks on each other constantly threatened what little stability English authorities were able to enforce in Munster. In the decade prior to the Butler rebellion, Ormond and Kildare were consistently feuding over the right to wines and disputed lands, and Desmond was defeated in just about every single case that he brought to the queen and her council for judgment. Sussex's favor of Ormond was only one reason to Desmond's failure at the courts in England. Sussex's recall to England in 1564 temporarily changed Desmond's plight.

The transition of the deputyship from Sussex to Sidney left Ireland in the hands of the newly appointed lord justice, Sir Nicholas Arnold, a the former a client of Leicester who helped expose Sussex's financial mismanagement. Under Arnold and away from the watchful eye of the impartial Sussex, Desmond resumed his attacks on Ormond's lands. The Battle of Affane resulted in the defeat of Desmond, and both parties were ordered to England to give accounts of

their offences, each accusing the other of provoking the fight. Sussex and Sidney acted as advisors in the matter; Sussex took Ormond's side and Sidney appealed on behalf of Desmond.[7] In picking one earl over the other, Sidney took sides against Ormond just before he was appointed to govern Ireland. As demonstrated in his ability to convince the queen's commissioners that Desmond was entirely to be blamed for the battle at Affane, Ormond would prove a formidable opponent under Sidney's deputyship.

From Sidney's point of view, his authority as lord deputy of Ireland was severely limited by Ormond's relationship with the queen. But before delving into his "conflict" with Ormond in matters that pertain to the authority of the deputyship, we must establish the backdrop in which they operated in the English court. The queen's favor of the two men can be traced back to her childhood. Sidney grew up in the company of Edward VI and was a close friend and confidante to the king, who "died in my arms" (*Memoir* 106). Sidney later became a part of the Dudley family when he married the Mary Dudley, the first Duke of Northumberland's daughter. A few years later, his sister, Francis Sidney married the Earl of Sussex. Sidney established his first connection with Ireland when he traveled with his brother-in-law as treasurer to the Irish council in 1556 (Stewart 19). As his government duties in France and Spain became more important, so did his association with the most powerful men in Elizabethan England, Francis Walsingham and William Cecil. He won their support and friendship with his diplomacy and loyalty to the government.

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[7] While both were punished and compelled into a bond of £20,000 to keep their peace, Desmond was held entirely responsible for the conflict: "Even more damaging for Desmond were the political consequences of Affane. His prestige in Munster plummeted, his reputation at court as an incorrigible was confirmed, and Arnold's ability to rehabilitate him evaporated" (McCormack 100).

Ormond was cousin to Elizabeth and was also raised in the court of Edward VI. Cecil noted that the young princess grew fond of Ormond and confided in him when they were teenagers. This fondness lasted into adulthood and even the queen's favorite, the earl of Leicester, perceived Ormond as a threat and grew cautious and resentful of his presence in court (a development validated in the reports of the French and Spanish ambassadors) (Edwards *Ormond Lordship* 99, Jenkins 135).[8] Ormond was without a doubt a one of a kind figure at the English court at a time when Irish natives and Anglo-Irishmen were commonly depicted in an unflattering light. He had good looks and charm, his patronage network in Ireland and England was extensive, and he was confident and aware of his hold over the queen: "Like other favorites such as Leicester and Hatton, he knew how to influence Elizabeth—or how, as he once said, to put ideas 'into the queen's head' " (Edwards *Ormond Lordship* 99). It was in this context that Sidney had to contend with Ormond: "Throughout the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) [Ormond] time and again stamped his mark on Anglo-Irish politics, sometimes dominating affairs, crushing the ability of successive chief governors of Ireland to conduct policy as they would have wished" (98). The implications of Ormond's interference with Irish affairs (at the English court) affected even the most urgent priorities in Ireland.

Sidney was forced to contend with Ormond's influence at court in his pursuit of Shane O'Neill, leader of the Northern rebels in Ulster. Following orders of his commission, the lord deputy focused his energies tracking O'Neil through some of the most treacherous terrain in

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[8] Anthony McCormack notes that Desmond had always been at a disadvantage because his father, the fourteenth Earl of Desmond, rejected Edward VI's offer to have his son sent to court in 1547, at age seventeen: "The young Gerald was thus denied a formal education, as well as the opportunity to forge strong ties with the Dudley faction, and perhaps even to develop a close personal relationship with the young Princess Elizabeth, the type of relationship that Ormond was able to exploit in subsequent years" (89). His erratic behavior led Sidney's successor, Sir John Perrot, to declare him "devoid of reason and more for Bedlam than a civilized country" (88).

Ireland. According to *Memoir*, Sidney and his men successfully disrupted O'Neill's celebration of the Christmas holidays. Sidney stresses his unconditional service to the wishes of the crown when he remarks: "how pleasant a life it is that time of the year, with hunger, and after sore travail to harbor long and cold nights in cabins made of boughs, and covered with grass, I leave to your indifferent judgment" (49). The shift that follows this remark begins to underscore the first signs of Sidney's discontent, not of being deprived of feasting and celebrating over Christmas, but that his mission to capture O'Neill, was interrupted by the Earl of Ormond. Right after Sidney describes his optimism in capturing O'Neill, he tells Walsingham: "But Sir—*Diabolus nunquam dormit*,[9] for now the Earl of Ormond applied the Queen with such complaints against me and Sir Warham St. Leger, whom I placed with others in commission in Munster" (49). In response to the earl's complains, "her Majesty wrote so oft and earnestly to me by the procurement of the Earl of Ormond, touching hurts done to him and his by the Earl of Desmond, as I was forced to leave my northern actions against O'Neill, and address me southward against Desmond, which prolonged the life and wars of O'Neill, greatly to the queen's charge" (49).

In alluding to Ormond as the "devil" and in making this reference while pursuing O'Neill, Sidney associates one with the other and he perceives both of them as threats to English rule in Ireland. But the question of whether such a description of Ormond is exaggerated is more pressing as it underscores tensions between lord deputy and crown. For Sidney, these tensions obstructed the extension and building of English common law in Ireland. In his first term, Sidney proposed the establishment of presidential councils. Presidential councils saw the distribution of the lord deputy's authority and they were meant both to protect the interest of the deputy and to

[9] The devil never sleeps (trans. Ciaran Brady).

alleviate the level of conflict between feuding native and Anglo-Irish leaders in the lord deputy's absence.[10]

Sidney's efforts to appoint presidents for the different shires was also thwarted by Ormond, again indicating that the lord deputy's authority to appoint principal officials was, in reality, not entirely his. The lord deputy appoints the president, who heads the council, and he receives the support of a small military retinue and other minor officials as he oversees the military, judicial, and administrative operations of the province. As Sidney points out in his comments to Walsingham, the purpose of having a presidential council in Munster is undermined by Ormond's complaint, which demands his immediate attention in Munster because of his private feud with Desmond. In these circumstances, Ormond's problems should be directed to the president of Munster, Sir Warham St. Leger, while the latter was in Ulster. The tensions between lord deputy and crown become apparent when we consider the reasons behind Ormond's refusal to turn to St Leger. The presidential council in Munster put an end to Ormond's power over his vast lordship: "Most attention was devoted to the proposed presidency of Munster… This, for Munster, was truly revolutionary in that it implied infringing upon the palatinate rights of the earls of Desmond and Ormond" (Canny *Elizabethan Conquest* 49). Ormond knew that it would be detrimental to his interests if Sidney was allowed to appoint the president of Munster. In preventing Sidney from doing so, he hoped to fill the position with someone who had vested interest in the lordship, as opposed to someone who would be sent to usurp his authority over those lands.

[10] The two presidential councils established in the late 1560s were in Connacht (in the west), over the earldoms of Clanricard and Thomond; and Munster (in the south), over the ever-feuding lordships of Desmond and Ormond.

The instance of the presidency of Munster proved to be a case in point in considering the limitations Sidney's authority and the overwhelming effects of Ormond's influence. Though the lord deputy was commissioned with the authority to select presidents for Connacht and Munster, this authority could be effectively and efficiently negated by a letter. In *Memoir*, Sidney defends his appointment of St Leger as president of Munster: "For Sir Warham St. Leger I do know him for a worthy honest gentleman, and one that would not blemish his credit for either of both the earls [Desmond and Ormond]" (52). Sidney further notes that St. Leger was above others, a more suitable candidate than "[Robert] Cusake [whom] I deemed to be more affected to Desmond than Ormond, While I knew, and all others that knew him thought him to be affectiously devoted to Ormond, as one born his follower, and yet both honest" (52). Yet, the queen reprimanded Sidney for being impartial and biased against Ormond. In her letter to Sidney dated 16 January 1567; she agreed to the establishment of a presidential council in Munster, "[b]ut we do not allow (as we have often let yow to understand) that Sir Warham St. Leger there, not for any other lacke in him; but only for that we shall not thinke that he can be so indifferent in the cases betwixt the two earles of Ormond and Desmond, as wer meete for one that shuld hold that place" (*Sidney State Papers* 50). The queen felt that St. Leger was not a suitable president because he "might beare with [Desmond's] disordres, or gyve him cause to be bolde to offend, upon presumption of frendshippe in him that shude governe over him" (50).

Sidney' irritation at Ormond's complaint can be attributed to two factors: one is tied to the other and they emphasize the difficult and delicate nature of his office. The first and more straightforward interpretation from his remarks in the *Memoir* is the notion that the more immediate priority of capturing O'Neill is interrupted by the seemingly trivial complaints of Ormond. He finds himself constantly having to explain why he has not yet captured O'Neill in

his reports to the council in England throughout the state papers. The second interpretation is that Sidney feels he is obligated to respond to the queen's request that he attend to Ormond. One demand undercuts the other: in responding to the latter, he is forced to abandon the former; and to ignore Ormond's complaints is to provoke the wrath of the queen, even as Sidney is continually pressed to report the progress he is making against O'Neill. To make matters worse, in June, the queen protected Ormond and sharply criticizes Sidney's impartiality in another letter. She expressed her displeasure that the lord deputy had not followed her advice on the matter of St. Leger, and asserted (again) that importance of the council but that "we did mislyke in deede to see you so addicted to the favour of thearle of Desmond… as to place St. Leger the President of that Counsell, whose inward prefferid friendship towards the Earle of Desmond was notorious both in England and Irland by manifest circumstances" (*Sidney State Papers* 67).

After detailing the St. Leger's association with his father, lord deputy during Henry VIII's reign and supporter of the Fitzgerald faction, she proceeded to assure Sidney that even without Ormond's information, she would not allow St. Leger to be president. But for Sidney, the most humiliating lines in his queen's letter were her accusation that "you do the Earle wrong to wryte that he perswadid us therto," referring to Ormond's attempt to persuade the queen that her lord deputy is impartial, corrupt, and defiant of crown authority (*Sidney State Papers* 67). Because of Ormond's influence, Sidney's authority to select presidents for the councils was undermined. The lord deputy was forced into cancelling St. Leger's appointment after it was made, and position remained vacant until the appointment of John Perrot in 1568 though he did not arrive until 1571.

The conflict between Sidney, the queen, and Ormond reflected the "fragmentation" within the English government in that the queen was willing to suspend the policies put in place

against rebels in Ireland. The period between the termination of St Leger's appointment and the arrival of Perrot was crucial to Sidney's career. It is quite possible that without the support and backing of a fully functional presidential council in Munster, he would have found himself ill-equipped in managing a very trying event: the Butler rebellion of 1569. Soon after Sidney was forced to arrest Desmond for forfeiting his promise of compensating the damages he incurred on Ormond's lands and making peace with the earl. Ormond yet again complained to the queen that the Earl of Desmond's brother and second in command, Sir John Desmond (at the time placed in charge of the Desmond lordship while his brother was detained), was again causing trouble on his lands and saying that Ormond's brother Piers Butler, was wrongfully arrested under Sidney's authority.[11] The queen's letter to Sidney noted Ormond's concerns and to quell the criticism from the Elizabeth, Sidney was yet again forced take actions that he felt were not justifiable; he arrested Sir John, whom he firmly believed to be a loyal subject (52). His reluctance to arrest the Desmond brothers is explicitly noted:

> I was eftsoons charged with partiality between the earls, and in especial for what I did not apprehend them sooner than I did. For the younger brother I had no warrant, nor (in truth) saw no cause, but much to the contrary; and for the other I was driven to prove that I had apprehended him and committed prisoner in Kilmallock… forty-eight days before the letter was written at St James for to apprehend him. Thus have you (my dear sir) some declaration of my painful travail, good event, and victory in

[11] In the same letter, the queen expresses her displeasure at Sidney's arraignment of Piers Butler while the Earl of Desmond and his followers are out committing "greater offences" and that Sir John is not suitable to be appointed "principall commissioner for government of the contrey whilest his brother the earle is in prison for so great offences" (*Sidney State Papers* 67).

> this my first deputation; but of reward I can say no more but as he did who said—*foris triumph at domi plero*. (59)[12]

Sidney held Ormond entirely responsible for this debacle and believed that the earl "ceased not to persecute me with unjust and untrue informations, alleging that his people could have no justice, but were still oppressed by Sir John of Desmond and the Desmonians" (57).

Sidney's description of the implications of Ormond's complaint in the *Memoir* is especially telling: it does not simply register his frustration with and irritation at Ormond but emphasizes the more important notion that Sidney's views of what he knew to be just and right were at odds with the wishes of the crown. The lord deputy represented the extension of the queen's royal authority and it was in this capacity that he performed his duties in Ireland. So in the passage above, Sidney found himself torn between what he knew to be just, and what he must accept as royal authority. For in acting according to the queen's wishes he must essentially

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[12] Triumph abroad but ridicule at home (Brady's translation). It is quite likely that Sidney's expression resulted from his feeling that Ormond's complaint added insult to humiliation especially when we consider the report of Sidney's last visit to court. The grandeur of his office is further diminished even after O'Neill is captured and his head delivered to Sidney by one of his men. What should have been a celebratory moment for this accomplishment (the long, hard campaign against the Ulster rebels) is turned instead to mockery and humiliation. Sidney writes "when I came to the court it was told me it was no war that I had made, nor worthy to be called a war, for that Shane O'Neill was but a beggar, an outlaw, and one of no force; and that the Scots stumbled on him by chance" (*Memoir* 58). There is little doubt that the discrediting of his hard work and his dedication to the crown was something that he took very personally. His response to those who did not think he fought a war in Ulster is laced with bitterness but also conviction: If O'Neill is a mere beggar and outlaw, then O'Neill would not have been brought to court during Sussex's administration, where Sidney was "rewarded of her majesty with fair and good apparel, and 2,500 lent him, but as he termed, given him to buy his peace" (58). To press his point further, Sidney bitterly continues, "Sure I am the money he had, the apparel and other gifts, and nothing had ever the Queen for it again, saving his head. This may argue he was no beggar" (58). To make matters worse, he reports that he was repeatedly ordered to "attend court about Irish causes, and was dismissed again; yet again sent for, and again I am sure three or four several times, not a little to my chargers" (59). Rumours that Sidney was wrangling with an outlaw instead or waging war against the queen's rebellious subjects would have angered Sidney because in sending him to pursue O'Neill, "the Queen had directed Sidney to behave as though at 'oppen wars with hym' " (Lee 30).

issue orders that were illegal: he overrode the process of indicting the Desmonds without warrant or legal justification. This action negated the most important aim of Sidney's reform program: to extend English common law, order, and justice through the realm of Ireland. In this instance, Sidney ordered the arrests before the men were even formally accused or indicted, much less given any opportunity to defend the charges made against them.

What made matters worse was the arrest of Sir John; he was arrested without warning when he visited his brother at the prison in Kilmallock, and both were then shipped to England to be locked up in the Tower of London. Sidney's expression, "in truth," tellingly draws a line that separates his views of how best to manage the problem from those of the crown. Sidney's interpretation of the events tells his reader that his actions against the Desmonds are not only wrongful but they have wronged his integrity because he is forced to violate his sense of justice. The lord deputy's dilemma was thus manifest: if he chose to be just and defended the Desmonds, he would risk the queen's disapproval, a possibly humiliating recall, charges of insubordination, or even worse, treason, for abetting the rebels. At the same time if he followed the queen's wishes, he would undermine the credibility of his reform program of extending English common law in Ireland. He would no longer promise crown protection to all subjects who needed it.

In his attempt to describe the unfolding of the rebellion in his *Memoir*, Sidney's explanation appears somewhat clumsy and awkward. He notes that Edmund Butler refuses to follow his orders when asked to assist Sidney in the campaign against James Fitzmaurice, who was trying to arouse rebellion in the Desmond lordship.[13] Sidney claims to be disappointed that

[13] Fitzmaurice is the cousin of the Desmond brothers who until then never had any part to play in the running the Desmond lordship. Fitzmaurice's involvement alarmed English authorities in Ireland and England because of his repeated attempts to persuade Philip II to intervene on behalf of the oppressed Catholics in Ireland. He promised the crown of Ireland to Philip if he succeeded in banishing English rule on the island. Despite repeated attempts to persuade Philip II, and later,

he will receive no help from Edmund and that the young man responded to his commands with "scornful letters as frivolous and foolish speeches, that he was able to do none, alleging that I had made him to ride up and down the country like a priest" (62). Edmund Butler made no pretense of his defiance against the lord deputy's authority, or more to the point, English authority, when he plundered Laois (Queen's County; the first colony established in Tudor Ireland under Queen Mary), killed "most specially all Englishmen… stripped out of their English garments," and then used their dead bodies "as marks for his kernes to throw their darts at" (62). This was immediately followed by the destruction that Sir Edmund inflicted in Carlow and the lands of the Kavanaghs, punishing and killing those who refused to support his cause. That Sidney manages to point out these areas and yet remain entirely silent on their significance is especially striking because Sir Edmund targeted these specific regions to respond to Sidney's abuse of authority and the queen's impartial treatment of her new English administrators over the old Anglo-Irish order.[14]

Instead of receiving thanks for his service and putting an end to the rebellion, Sidney finds himself yet again humiliated through the limitations placed on his authority. His *Memoir*

Philip III to invade Ireland, Spain was immensely cautious of invading Ireland for fear for risking peace talks with England. From the Spanish perspective, Fitzmaurice's plans were feasible to some degree, and he received some aid from Spain, though not enough to pose a real threat in Ireland. Fitzmaurice's mission in Spain is painstakingly detailed in Enrique García Hernán's *Ireland and Spain in the Reign of Philip II* (2009), see esp. 35–76.

[14] It should be noted that Sidney's *Memoir* does not acknowledge the fact that his use of extra-legal methods to support Sir Peter's ancient rights to the county Idrone effectively dispossessed Edmund Butler of his lands. This was one of the reasons that provoked the rebellion. Willy Maley discusses the implications of Sidney's seemingly selective memory and argues that "the amnesia of empire" is characteristic of colonial discourse and that ambiguities and contradictions are necessary in creating narratives that justify the conflict between colonizers and the natives: "Forgetfulness is enfeebling, which is why it proves to be bad for the English and good for the Irish. In a colonial nation, where competing settler societies are vying for power alongside a native population, losing one's memory can be as vital as keeping it" (55). See Maley's " 'The name of the country I have forgotten': remembering and dismembering in Sir Henry Sidney's Irish *Memoir* (1583)" (2007).

notes that Edmund Butler soon escapes from the prison in Dublin with a rope (still hanging from his chambers down the walls of Dublin castle after the escape), precisely because of the unusual treatment he Sir Edmund is given: "having too much liberty, wearing no irons, nor locked up in any chamber, but had leave to use the walk on the wall, only guarded with two of my men," he successfully got away. Sidney expresses his regrets with this: "For though I did the best I could, I never could get him during that my deputation" (77). Sidney's descriptions of the rebellion, the arrest of Edmund Butler, the queen's letters of pardon in Ormond's hands, and the escape of Edmund follows a rational that is underscored by an unambiguous structure of cause and effect: *Ormond is the cause of the queen's troubles* in Ireland and the effect is the undoing of English law and order in Ireland. Because he cannot blame the queen in the *Memoir*, Ormond stands in place as the target of his resentment. Nowhere in the narrative does Sidney indicate that the queen exhibits bad judgment for favoring Ormond over the welfare of Ireland, or over her lord deputy; this silence reinforces the deeply held doctrine that "the queen can do no wrong," and that "evil counselors" are to be blamed for her bad judgment.

The mistrust (created by Ormond) between queen and lord deputy limited his authority and in turn, his ability to carry out his tasks without obstructions and distractions. By the time he composed the *Memoir* in 1583, Sidney was quite convinced that he had never won the queen's trust and could not have possibly done so because of Ormond's *presence* at court and his own *absence* in Ireland. This is suggested in his cynical and ambivalent attitude in recalling Edmund Butler's escape. While Sidney regrets this incident, he is also glad that Edmund, though seriously injured, did not die in his attempt to escape. Sidney tells Walsingham:

> But good Sir, what case had I been in, if he had broken his neck or otherwise killed himself in that mad and desperate adventure? I think I should hardly have made my

> friends to have believed otherwise than I had done, or caused it to be done, and that the cord hung there but for a colour. He has since told me, and said it likewise to others, that it was written to him often out of England, and told him in the castle, that undoubtedly I would kill him. (77)

The apparent grandeur associated with the position of lord deputy dissipates when we consider this account alongside the perceived image of the viceroy's office; the position was coveted because of the political influence that came with it. Sidney's conviction that everyone would hold him responsible for the "murder" of Edmund Butler if he died in his attempt to escape, was not unwarranted. The years that preceded the rebellion may well justify his feelings. He indicted and charged Edmund in 1566 for robbery and extortion and had him temporarily imprisoned until he received word from William Cecil, who had always been a supporter, warning him to drop the case because he was provoking the queen's displeasure. His ties with the Dudley circle, which he had always depended on, were also strained as Leicester settled his differences with Ormond: "As a result Leicester told Ormond much of what he knew about Sir Henry's plans to damage him" (Edwards *Ormond Lordship* 190). In Ireland, Sidney was slowly isolated and those at court were cautious of his presence: "Divers of the principal gentlemen would in the night, and as it were disguised, come to me protesting they durst not in the day time be seen to do so, for fear of the Earl of Ormond" (*Memoir* 100). Clearly the authority of the lord deputy could not compete with the queen's favorite courtier.

In the closing section of his *Memoir*, Sidney presents his readers with an image of a lord deputy that is in stark contrast with the status that is normally associated with the office. Writing in 1583, at age fifty-four, he knew (as he stated in his introduction) that his appeals to the queen for some form of financial aid were utterly exhausted and that the matter could no longer be

discussed. He describes himself as "toothless and trembling, being five thousand pounds in debt," and that despite his good services to the queen, "I cannot obtain to have in fee farm £100 a year, already in my own possession, paying the rent *Dura est condition servorum* [Hard is the servants' lot]" (108). Sidney's presentation of himself, as the "meanest and poorest man that ever occupied this my place [at Penshurst]," suggests that common perceptions of the lord deputy (as powerful, influential, and wealthy) are grossly exaggerated and untrue.

The queen's final rejection of Sidney was made explicit in 1582, when Cecil and Walsingham considered the possibility of making Sidney lord deputy for a fourth term and he showed some interest in the prospect. Sidney expressed interest in taking up the position only under "unequivocal recognition by the Queen of the value of his past services" through the granting of "a peerage and a grant of land; he also preferred to have the title of Lieutenant rather than Deputy" (Wallace 281). These terms were outright rejected by the queen, which put an end to further discussions. The peerage and land grant would have greatly improved his financial situation but it is his insistence to have the title of Lieutenant of Ireland that is of more interest in the context of my discussion on the authority of the chief governor and the problems. Sidney was forced to face in wrestling for dominance in Ireland with the Earl of Ormond. Whether Sidney saw his demand for the title as a symbol of appreciation from the queen, we do not know, but it is quite certain that he may have felt that the title would alleviate the tensions between crown and governor through eliminating many of the limitations that were imposed on him (via Ormond's influence). The queen may have rejected of his requests and refused to recognize his accomplishments, but as a last comfort for Sidney sympathizers, the "toothless and trembling" lord deputy lived long enough to see himself immortalized as a symbol of English power and imperial conquest in the second edition of Holinshed's *Irish Chronicles* (1587).

John Hooker and *Holinshed's Irish Chronicles* (1587)

If Sidney's *Memoir* is a representation of his office in Ireland, then Hooker's contribution to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, "*The Svpplie of the Irish Chronicles*," is a misrepresentation of the same. Hooker depicts Sidney in a way that he does not quite imagine himself in his 1583 *Memoir*: he is neither "trembling and toothless" nor deprived of royal favor, or of public popularity. In fact, Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* depict him as an all-powerful figure whose image is more along the lines of Camden's description of the viceroy. In Stanihurst's *Irish Chronicle*, Sidney only appears in the dedication but nowhere in the text. The dedication hopes that Sidney, "aboue all others… may here be schooled, by a right line to leuell [his] gouernement" but it does not prescribe any resolution of how to best reform and conquer Ireland (9). As we will see, Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* is entirely different in that it promotes military reform and imperial expansion as part of its larger narrative. Furthermore, Hooker's depiction of the Old English is in line with prevailing New English thought: the Old English are as disloyal, if not more so, as the Irish, and they have degenerated to a point of no return. But this section is more concerned with the stark contrast between Sidney's *Memoir* and the 1587 *Irish Chronicle*, and it argues that the latter is an overt expression of state hegemony at work, and it is also attempts to assert royal authority in Ireland. While Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* strives to achieve these goals, it subverts the idea of a single, unequivocal rule that is traced back to the queen in England.

In following a discussion of Sidney's authority in *Memoir* with Hooker's representation of Sidney in the *Irish Chronicle*, I aim to emphasize the tensions between the office of the lord deputy and the queen herself. A close study of these tensions exposes the problematic nature of a proxy government: the queen's authority must be represented in the person of her lord deputy

and yet that representation becomes potentially dangerous when it bears too close a resemblance to the queen's royal person. This narrative undermines the queen's royal authority because Sidney's glorified actions and practices in Ireland call attention to the conspicuous absence of the queen. Hooker's representation of Sidney is generated by a historical imagination that envisions the Irish conquest as a precursor to wider, more successful expansion. Hooker's lengthy dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh, his emphasis on the notion of absolute acceptance of English authority through Sidney's grandeur and more importantly, his concerted attempt to downplay the tensions between queen and deputy all consistently indicate that his narrative is first preoccupied with imperial expansion.[15] Working through these themes, he asserts readers that the English government in London and the colonial government in Ireland work together as one united unit in perfect harmony and that the problems of governance have less to do with the conflict between the queen and her deputy than the fight between English and Irish.

In Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, Sidney stands well above all other lord deputies, including the Lord Lieutenant Sussex, as the most prominent figure in the history of Ireland.[16] Nowhere

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[15] Although Ralegh did not hold any office in Ireland, he makes a suitable dedicatee for Hooker's purposes. Hooker's simultaneous anticipation of "the thing to come" and celebration of "the things past" is embodied in the figure of Ralegh (Hooker 102–3). Hooker pays special attention to Ralegh's past association with the westward passage in the 1580s. And "the thing to come" anticipates the complete conquest of Ireland; one is mapped onto the other. Ralegh also became one of the most prominent colonizers in Ireland after he received vast areas of land that were confiscated after the Desmond Rebellion, where he acted as captain to Lord Deputy Arthur Grey's forces (1580). In this sense, Ralegh's accomplishments in the New World and Ireland epitomize Hooker's idealization of what it means to conquer, dispossess, and colonize. In selecting Ralegh as a dedicatee, Hooker draws parallels between conquest and colonization in Ireland and the New World.

[16] The earliest representatives of the king were sent under the orders of Henry II during the initial conquest of Ireland; their authority on the island was limited and was centered in the Dublin county court and they were sometimes known as the King's Justiciar. This titled was used until the reign of Richard II, when it was substituted with the King's Lieutenant. Titles before this period were often vague and general if any formal title was given at all. Traditionally, the highest appointment of the chief governor of Ireland is that of the King's Lieutenant. This title is

else in Holinshed's *Chronicles* do we find such extensive coverage of a single governor. Like Sidney, Anthony St Leger also served three terms in Ireland, but these appointments spanned sixteen years (1540–56) and three reigns, as opposed to Sidney's thirteen years (1565–78) over two reigns. St. Leger's conciliatory policies were immensely important in that they built the foundation of an exclusive all-English government after the collapse of the Kildare ascendancy. St. Leger was able with varying success, to persuade the Irish chiefs who traditionally dealt with Anglo-Irish governors to co-operate with English officials. He would not be a suitable governor for Hooker's purpose, however, because Stanihurst covers St. Leger's terms up to 1547, leaving less than ten years for Hooker's continuation; more importantly, Hooker advocates conquest, not St. Leger's policy of conciliation. Following this line of thought, Hooker's logical choice should have been Sussex, who served with brief interruptions between 1556 and 64 because Sussex employed interventionist policies and he believed that military force was the only way to conquer. But even then, Sussex proves "ineligible" for Hooker's ideal figure of royal authority: "[Sussex] did verie great good seruice against the Irishrie… but yet before he could or did bring the same to perfection, he was reuoked into England, and left the land in a verie broken state" (325). Nicholas Arnold was appointed lord justice after this, but Hooker notes he was not "well liked" and finally Sidney was appointed to take over from Arnold as lord deputy in 1565.

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traditionally, before the Tudor era, given to someone who is of royal blood, normally someone directly related to the King; after the fifteenth century, the office can also be given to highly regarded English nobles. The King's Lieutenant's powers and authority exceeded those of the justiciars. For early usage of these titles, see H. G. Richardson's and G. O Sayle's *The Administration of Ireland 1172–1377* (1963), and Herbert Wood's "The Office of Chief Governor of Ireland, 1172–1509" (1921-24). It is also notable that Sidney tried to obtain the title of Lord Lieutenant when he was campaigning for a fourth term in Ireland; the queen flatly refused his request. In 1599, however, the Robert Devereux, the second earl of Essex, was appointed Lord Lieutenant. For a brief discussion of the implications of Essex's appointment as Lord Lieutenant, see Chapter 6. Epilogue.

Hooker goes to great pains to establish Sidney as the ideal figure of royal authority in England. Sidney's credentials make him an especially suitable governor; he had been second-in-command to the lord deputy when he served as treasurer and lord justice several times prior to his appointment. In terms of his experience and knowledge of the island and its peoples, "he excelled anie others in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue the gouernement of [the Irish]" (326). This is the type of description that normally follows the introduction of a new governor. Through the two editions of the *Irish Chronicle*, Stanihurst and Hooker usually emphasize new appointments by writing brief and general commentaries on the new governor. Sidney is an exception in this case. Once his appointment is confirmed, Hooker enumerates "The said foure articles" that are included in Sidney's commission. These include the queen's instructions on the state of religion, economy, administrative, and military matters. The specific and detailed manner in which these clauses are described is highly unusual when we consider the vague and general descriptions of other lord deputy appointments. In Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, they are *inserted* into Hooker's historical narrative to resemble an attachment of a government document. For readers, this insertion appears to reassert the weight of the task facing the lord deputy and with that, the extent of Sidney's authority in all matters that are important to the crown.

The distribution of authority is significant in Hooker's narrative because he presents Sidney as lord deputy whose authority was nearly limitless next to the queen; this was entirely unlike Sidney's description of his term in the *Memoir*. As part of the instructions of his commission, Sidney is told that "he the lord deputie should vse [his councilors'] their aduises, assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and consultation, concerning the state of [Ireland]" (326). But Hooker does not allow the reader to forget who ultimately holds the power

of royal authority in Ireland. The Irish councilors "considering the place and authoritie wherevnto hir maiestie had called the said sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold hir place in that realme: they should yield that obedience and reuerence vnto him" (326). Hooker makes a simple but very important assertion here: the lord deputy is a substitute for an *absent* queen in Ireland. Inadvertently, Hooker calls attention to the problem of delegated authority in this case.

From the outset, Hooker's description not seem to be problematic especially since chief governors were normally given "full power to supervise all ministers or officers in Ireland, to remove those who are useless and to put others who are useful and suitable in their places—excepting our Chancellor and Treasurer [in Ireland]" (Curtis and McDowell 71). Hooker makes it a point to highlight this, and the viceroy is depicted as *the* maker of government in Ireland with little to no indication of the limitations in the making of this government, when in reality, he was restrained from reshuffling his council when he attempted to remove nearly all of Sussex's men. The queen could dispatch orders for adjustments that she thought were necessary and she did: among the small number of positions not restaffed with new men were those whose incumbents had no intimate association with the Sussex circle (Brady *Chief Governors* 116).[17]

The relationship between the lord deputy and his councilors, as Hooker depicts them in the *Irish Chronicle*, is more idealized than realized. Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Charles Blount, who

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[17] Brady's account of Sidney's "increasing difficulty in establishing his executive authority" stresses the fact that the authority given to the lord deputy in his instructions is not exempt from interferences:

> His replacement of Sussex's men in Dungarvan and Leighlin were overturned; his decision to appoint Bagenal as marshal was hotly disputed… In the church his recommendations of Terence Danyell for the see of Armagh and Hugh Brady for the see of Dublin were ignored, and in the army even innocuous attempts to fill vacancies were greeted with suspicion and deferred. Sidney showed some sympathy for Arnold's difficulties and he was accused of conspiring against Sussex; he praised Kildare and Cusacke for their efforts on his behalf, and he was rebuked for being 'guided in the government by councilors of Irish birth.' " (*Chief Governors* 121)

finally put an end to the Nine Years War, would complain to Robert Cecil that his efforts to pursue Hugh O'Neill were repeatedly thwarted and delayed by dissensions not only between he and his councilors but also among the officials themselves: "if I were aided by a council of Solomons, I think this Kingdom and this army, as they are now, would afford them matter enough to try their wits." (Jones, Frederick 70). Mountjoy added that his "fellow councilors, most of them do only lie at defense to save themselves harmless, some of them to entrap me, but none of them from whom I receive any matter of assistance" (70, 89). At the other end in Dublin, the councilors sent letters to Whitehall with their own complaints against the lord deputy.

Even the most popular lord deputy was not spared from the complaints of the Palesmen in Dublin; Hooker reports that amongst the many accusations Sidney was charged with, one was "that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the course of other deputies before him" (Hooker 394). Hooker defends Sidney when he criticizes the councilors for spreading "vntruths," but more-to-the-point, Sidney remains the image of perfection, as one who effectively performs his duties, and he does so single-handedly. In a description of an urgent council meeting that aimed to address the problems of the "lamentable and dolefull… state and kingdome [of Ireland], Hooker notes: [Sidney's councilors] cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were the chiefest of the councell, then ioined to assist him in councell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decaied men; and the lord deputie himself friuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute *all himself*" (my emphasis) (332). Hooker's interpretation and representation of Sidney as the all-mighty, all-authoritative and thus ideal lord deputy are derived from views that were prevalent when he was preparing the volume in the first half of the 1580s.

The "rehabilitation" of Sidney's image, most prominently featured in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, is likely to have originated in the crisis of the Desmond Rebellion in 1579. The rebellion alarmed authorities in England when James Fitzmaurice returned to Ireland with Spanish aid. Lord Deputy Arthur Grey was appointed and charged to quell the rebellion in 1580 and at the notorious battle of Smerwick, his issued orders to slaughter the rebels, who had apparently surrendered, along with women and children. Anxieties about Grey's competence initially surfaced when he was defeated in the Battle of Glemalure in Wicklow, where he was faulted for bad judgment that led to the deaths of about 800 men under his command. Criticism of Grey's governance was mixed and in 1581, it was rumored that he might be recalled. In a letter to Walsingham dated 5 November in the same year, Geoffrey Fenton expressed his opinion that Grey was not suitable as lord deputy in times of crisis because of his lack of Irish experience and that "Sir Henry Sydney is mighty and popular with all sorts and in all parts of Ireland. He is reverenced as a patron that would deliver the country" (*CSPI* 1574-85/327). Anxieties about Grey's performance in England resulted in a new campaign to appoint Sidney as lord deputy for a fourth term, and Hooker contributed to these efforts in framing Sidney as the "savior" of Ireland.

Even though Grey was praised by one of his captains for the "great courage after our loss, could not have been bettered by Hercules" in the aftermath of the siege at Smerwick, captain Nicholas Malby echoed Fenton's views in 1582 that Grey was no Sidney: "If Sir Henry Sydney can but sit in his chair, he will do more good than others with all their limbs" (*CSPI* 1574-85/369). Malby was clearly a Sidney supporter and was one among many others who campaigned for his reappointment during the Desmond crisis. Malby's remark casts doubt on Grey's competence and expresses the hope that Sidney will return as lord deputy, but by singling

out Sidney as a *standard*, the competence of "all others" (that is, all other lord deputies), is measured against Sidney's achievements. Malby's and Fenton's comments made Sidney out to be the savior of Ireland, and implied that he alone could subdue it.

This almost mythical image of Sidney is asserted in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* when Hooker defends the overwhelming opposition against the lord deputy's policies in the 1569 parliament. Hooker urges the opposing parties to consider Sidney's "endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat sutes for your quietnesse," and for this, "he hath deserued more than well at our hands: yet as the vnthankfull Israelites against … you haue and doo most vngratfullie requite and recompense this your noble gouernor: against whom and his dooings you doo kicke and spurne what in you lieth" (Hooker 344). The biblical allusion stresses the notion that it is God's will that Ireland should be fully conquered and marks Sidney as the chosen one who will lead the ignorant and uncivilized Irish out of their oppression by the native chieftains.

In drawing a parallel between the leadership of Moses and Sidney, Hooker's narrative redresses Sidney's complaint in his *Memoir* that his service to the crown is underestimated, unacknowledged, and unrewarded. Sidney's resentment in 1583 is all the more poignant precisely because he, too, felt that he fulfilled the role of Moses to the Israelites, as Sidney finally departed Ireland in 1578. Hooker reports Sidney's farewell speech, in which he recited a line from Psalm 114: "*In exutu Istael de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*" (399). Hooker's account of Sidney's farewell speech makes the allusion explicit in noting that Sidney,

> thereby to the troublesome state of Moses in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisedome, care, and policie gouerned the stifnecked people of Israell, had done many miracles and woonderous works to their comfort, had deliuered them from manie great perils and

> dangers, had preserued and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharao, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had giuen them the sight of the land of promise… (399)

No other governor of Ireland in Holinshed's *Irish Chronicle* is compared to a biblical figure.

The stark contrast between Sidney's *Memoir* and Hooker's chronicle lies in the object to whom they attribute ungratefulness. In his *Memoir*, Sidney uses Ormond to veil his resentment against the queen: influenced by the manipulative Ormond, the queen turns her back on her lord deputy. Sidney is financially and physically ruined by his long service and yet receives no aid from her even at the behest of some of the most important statesmen in court. In recalling his final term as lord deputy, Sidney tells Walsingham that even though he "cursed, hated and detested" yet another term in Ireland, he went anyways for the sake of he queen: "[I] confess with supposition that I could do that which had not been done before, and in great hope hit where others had missed; and eftsoons the third time I took upon me that thankless charge" and returned to Ireland (*Memoir* 81). In Sidney's *Memoir*, the queen's cruelty is placed squarely on the shoulders of Ormond. As Ciaran Brady points out in his introduction to Sidney's *Memoir*, the lord deputy was not given to the kind of derogatory views of the Irish as an intractable and irreconcilable people that were typical in the late Elizabethan period. Sidney speaks highly of Irish lords who co-operated with crown authorities and punished those who revolted. It is consistent through his *Memoir* that for Sidney, the wars in Ireland were not against the Irish as such but against rebels; their defects were not traced to their lack of English cultural markers but to their particular personalities (15). There is no indication anywhere in the *Memoir* of Sidney's disdain for the Irish as a people, much less his bitterness that they are ungrateful toward him.

Hooker, on the other hand, attributes an ungrateful attitude toward Sidney to the Irish. He compares their ungratefulness to the malice of the Lacedaemonians to Lycurgus, their lawgiver, saying that the Irish, "offering vnto [Sidney] the like reward as Licurgus receiued of the most vnthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recouered that sauage nation to a ciuill life, and a politike gouernement… recompense euill intreated him in verie bad speachesm and strake out one of his eies" (400). Like the Lacedaemonians, the Irish "would not onlie haue bereft his lordship of both his eies, but also done him a further inconuenience (if success had happened) according to their malice" (400). Hooker's depiction of the Irish in this light is not surprising since he has already prepared readers for it. In an earlier section, marked under "The nature of the Irishmen," Hooker reminds his readers that sixteenth-century Irishmen have not changed since the twelfth century. Using the Desmond Rebellion as an example to support his claims, he notes: "And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation" (369). The Giraldian-centered typology of the Irish so entrenched in early modern histories of Ireland is revived and re-explicated: the Irish are always plotting mischiefs, they love bloodshed and cruelty, they are prone to murders and robberies, they are trucebreakers, traitors, and liars. And they cannot help being so, he writes, simply because they are Irish. If they are treated with kindness and generosity, "they will surelie skip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience" (369). Hooker's narrative logically links these uncivilized manners to how they can be best rectified: "Such is their stubbornesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be brideled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be chastised and subdued" (369).

Taking into account Sidney's *Memoir*, I argue that Hooker's acknowledgement of Sidney's achievements sits uncomfortably with his attempt to turn Sidney into a figurehead for imperial conquest—Hooker says that Sidney's motivation and acts are honorable but misunderstood by a savage people. In directing Sidney's disappointment to the Irish, Hooker erases Sidney's criticism of the queen's interference in his work in Ireland and her lack of appreciation for his service. In doing so, Hooker displaces the internal tension between queen and lord deputy and replaces it with the larger agenda of justifying English conquest in Ireland. In the first case, we have a magnified version of internal conflict within the government of subject against monarch, and in the second, we have a narrative that pits Ireland against England. Sidney's *Memoir* argues how Ireland should *not* be governed (through a queen easily influenced by her favorites) and Hooker argues how it *should* be governed, by conflating queen and lord deputy as a single source of royal authority.

Yet, Hooker's overenthusiasm of depicting Sidney as the ideal governor inevitably runs into the problem of the nature of the lord deputy's office. In its ideal form, royal authority is monolithic. But when it is represented in someone other than the queen, then where exactly does it lie? Ernst Kantorowicz's theory of "the king's two bodies," where a monarch's Body natural and Body politic are perceived as an indivisible unit, is especially problematic when we consider the delegation of royal authority outside of England. In cases of "royal absenteeism," the monarch's Body politic is and must be split in order for a representative to rule in her place.[18] When Hooker suppresses the internal conflict between Sidney and Elizabeth, he gives the impression that there can be no clash within the government of Ireland. But when Hooker asserts

[18] Further implications of "royal absenteesim," particularly having to do with interpretations of justice and mercy, will be discussed in the following chapter.

the lord deputy's presence and authority above and beyond that which the queen has delegated to him, Hooker treads on dangerous grounds. In Hooker's chronicle, Sidney is welcomed into Irish towns with receptions that bear a striking resemblance to the queen's pageants and progresses in England, and the lines that separate royal authority from the lord deputy's authority start to blur.

Scholars of medieval and early modern pageantry are especially interested in the cultural aspects of the pageants and how they shape ideas of the English nation state and the monarch in terms of interaction between ruler and subject through performance.[19] The importance of the royal progress was evident during the Elizabethan period; despite complaints from her advisors that they distracted her from matters of the state and that a traveling court was immensely costly and inconvenient, the queen visited over 400 hosts, individual and civic, during her forty-four year reign (Cole 1). Through direct contact with subjects who did not have access to her, the queen's progresses enabled her to "consolidate her image and popularity, to strengthen royal authority in towns, to display herself and her court in public ceremonies. This pageantry thus "contributed to and constituted the government of Elizabeth" (34). The progress is especially relevant to our study of Hooker's depiction of Sidney because the lord deputy's progress in Ireland follows the ceremonial patterns of the royal progress in England. In England, the queen's progress is marked first with meeting of the queen and her host(s) at the latter's estate, or in the case of a civic progress, the mayor will meet the queen at the boundary of her town. A surrender of authority will then take place with the exchange of a symbolic item, and this can include the keys to the town. When this is completed, the queen would then either give "a speech or drama of welcome," and proceed to the rest of the celebration with gifts and feasts (Heal 49).

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[19] See David Bergeron's *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642* (1971) and his *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theatre* (1985); Sydney Anglo's *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Modern Tudor Policy* (1969), and Roy Strong's *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (1977).

Hooker's description of Sidney's first arrival to Ireland follows the pattern of the royal progress. After receiving his instructions in England, Hooker sails to Dublin where he is welcomed with great joy by "the whole counsell, the maior and his brethren of that citie. And the people in great troops came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all the ioie that they could deuise" (327). This description of the audience's response is not unlike William Harrison's description of Elizabeth's coronation in London: "At hir entering the citie, she was of the people receiued maruellous intierlie, as appeared by the assemblies, praiers, wishes, welcommings, cries, tender words, and all other signes which argued a wonderfull earnest love of most obedient subiects towards their souereigne" (*Holinshed's Chronicles* Vol. 4 159). Sidney's reception is, however, not complete until the following Sunday, when the "sword of state" is surrendered to him. The sword symbolizes royal authority and English justice, delegated and placed in the hands of the English chief governor in Ireland. Once this part of the ceremony is completed, Sidney "made a most pithie, wise, and eloquent oration…" (327).

Hooker reports Sidney's oration, like the queen's, at length, and in doing so he draws parallels between the two. The detail in which the speech is described is not afforded to any other chief governors of Ireland in either edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles*. Hooker emphasizes notable points of Sidney's speech. Nearly all of the items he enumerates pertain to the queen's wishes for the welfare of her subjects in Ireland and the authority that she has delegated to her lord deputy over it. The speech is consistently underscored with "hir maiestie"; Sidney tells his audience that "hir maiestie" could have "made better choise of manie others" to "hold hir place in this realme" but she chose Sidney among very many other competent candidates abd "hir pleasure was now to cast thie heauie charge and burden vpon him" (327). While there is no ambiguity about who is ultimately the power-giver here, Sidney's repeated attempts to

acknowledge royal authority paradoxically undermines it at the same time: the queen is repeatedly mentioned and yet, she is conspicuously *absent*. In her absence, the recognition and celebration of royal authority (manifest in the arrival of the lord deputy) is directed at Sidney. The response of Sidney's audience upon the completion of his oration dangerously mirrors the response of the queen's subjects who would fill the streets for a glimpse of their beloved monarch when she was in progress; after Sidney finishes addressing the people of Dublin, "the common people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and with great acclamations and ioie did congratulat vnto his lordship his coming among them in that office" (328).

The parallels that Hooker draws between the queen's and the deputy's authority and popularity become increasingly more provocative, especially when we consider the receptions that were arranged for Sidney while he traveled in Ireland. Sidney's arrival at different locations over the following two terms he served as lord deputy witnessed celebrations and pageantry that were not enjoyed by former lord deputies.[20] Two spectacles that took place during his last term in office are particularly noteworthy: the first is his arrival at Waterford, where he is similarly greeted by the city's officials and the people, after which "an oration of congratulatory [is] made vnto him in the Latine toong by a young scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphs were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioie and gladness, as could be deuised (378). The treatment that Sidney receives is fit for a monarch. Here the Latin oratory and the entertainment on land and sea is reminiscent of royal progresses. A second celebration awaits him at his arrival at Cork, where

[20] It is quite likely that Sidney requested or orchestrated these events himself. If so, this makes him seem all the more dangerous to the queen as he attempted to imitated her authority and grandeur in her absence. Modern historians have noted Sidney's vanity above all other lord deputies in Ireland. See Hiram Morgan's " 'Overmighty Officers': The Irish Lord Deputy in the Early Modern British State" (1999), and John Bradley's "Sir Henry Sidney's Bridge at Athlone, 1566-7" (2007).

"the lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifulnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townsmen or of the soldiers" (381).[21]

In foregrounding the grandeur of the lord deputy and describing the lavish receptions which the people *willingly* undertake, surely at great inconvenience and expense in a land constantly embroiled in local warfare, Hooker constructs Sidney so as to justify and assert the chronicler's ideal notion of a perfect conquest: the conqueror is not only welcomed and accepted, but also perceived as long-awaited and wanted "saviour" of sorts, to the Irish. Just as the queen's progresses brought her face to face with petitioners who voiced grievances to their sovereign," and allowed local officials to ask her "for help in strengthening the civic economy, especially the harbors, markets, and industries, as well as in adjudicating local disputes," the lord deputy promised his hosts and visitors similar opportunities (Cole 3). Yet, in asserting the lord deputy's authority in Ireland, Hooker treads a fine line in establishing whose authority superior in the realm. The textual presence of "hir maiestie," so explicit earlier in Hooker's narrative, gradually disappears, and Sidney's forbidding presence—marked by his progresses—becomes more prominent. Ceremonies that celebrate Sidney's presence in Ireland as if he were king become successively more provocative in Hooker's narrative, and the author explicitly transplants the royal image, befitting only the queen, onto the lord deputy, particularly through his description

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[21] William Leahy's *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (2005) cautions readers to be aware of the dynamics and organization involved in these spectacles and notes that audience members who throng the streets include, in the cases of the queen's progresses, members of the London Guilds (who contributed to the events). These people were in fact ordered to be present at the progress: "their failure to do so would have consequences: 'Not failing hereof, as you will answere the contraire at your perill' "(65). But the presence of an audience does not necessarily reflect support for the queen. Contemporary evidence records an instance of this when Elizabeth gave her famous speech at Tilbury to spur her troops against the Spanish Armada; many of the soldier who attended the speech sold their weapons and supplies right after they disbanded (79).

of Sidney's parliament in Ireland. Heading the Irish parliament, Sidney appears to have complete authority over law-making, and he is embodied as the figure of absolute justice.

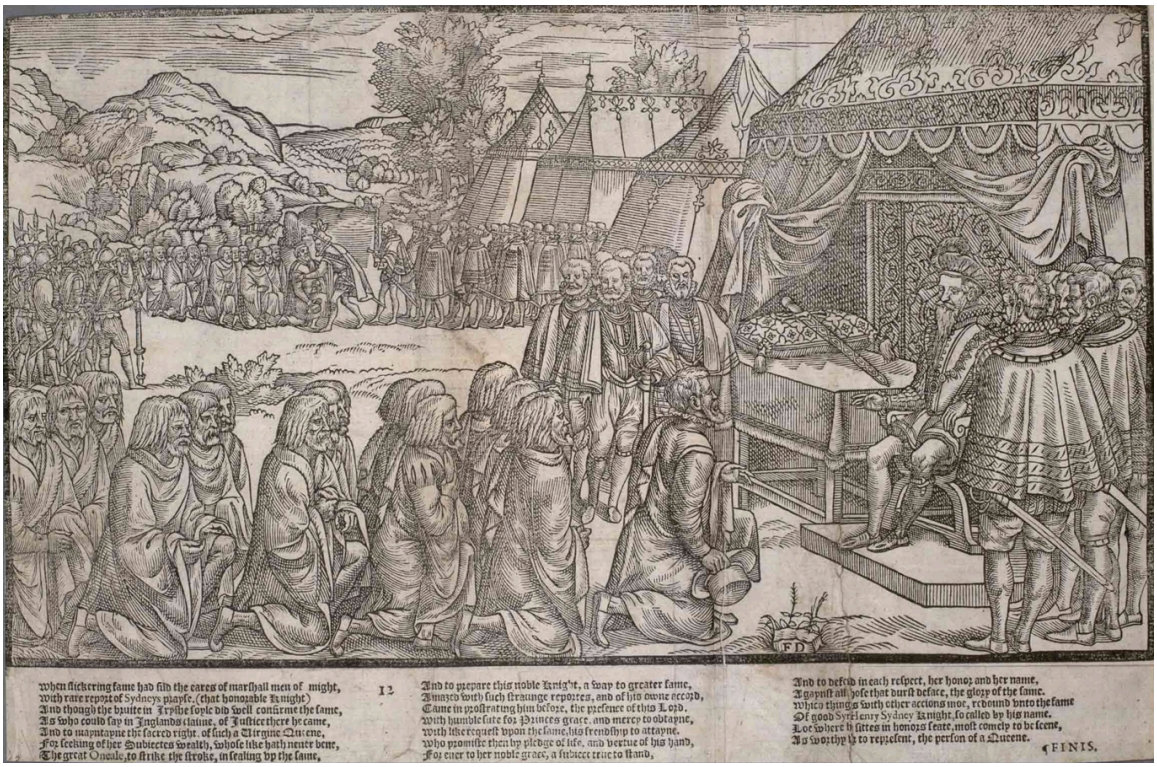
Hooker's presence at Sidney's first parliament as a member of the House of Commons afforded him a set of notes on the procedure of parliamentary proceedings, which further contribute to his systematic construction of Sidney as the supreme authority in Ireland.[22] In the midst of Sidney's encounters with rebels, Hooker provides readers with a lengthy description of what to expect in an Irish parliament that lasts for twelve pages (345–62). Hooker's insertion of the articles of parliamentary procedures resembles his earlier enumeration of the articles in Sidney's commission—both act as official "stamps" of royal authority that assert that Ireland is operating under English authority and English laws. The articles on parliamentary procedures may be read, on one level, as a mere description of the complex and organized administrative system. But on another level, they are in fact an integral part of Hooker's narrative, because the lord deputy is heralded as the first chief governor to order all parliament proceedings, from his administration forth, to be printed in accordance to English practices (345). Hooker's description

[22] Hooker was one of the members of the House of Commons in Sidney's first parliament. In defending Sidney, Hooker was reported to have openly compared Queen Mary and Philip to Pharoah (implicitly highlighting Sidney as Moses), and he offended the Irish representatives when he referred to them as "kerns." In his outrage at Hooker's comments, Edward Butler, Ormond's younger brother, highlights the tension between the court and the Old English community: "Butler, in a choler also said that if these words had been spoken in any other place than in this house, there be a great many here that they would rather have died than to have suffered it" (qtd. in Treadwell 69). This 1569 parliament was especially difficult for Sidney as he faced strong opposition in the upper house, from Palesmen and Anglo-Irish lords alike, and was also accused of manipulating the lower house by allowing members who were non-residents partake in the sessions. To make matter worse, he was also under a great deal of pressure from England. Elizabeth was reluctant to grant Sidney's request to hold parliament in the first place, and was persuaded into doing so partly because he promised that it would be a short one that would not last more than six weeks. Because of the unprecedented opposition he faced, parliament dragged on for eight sittings over two years. The best source of details to the 1569 parliament can be found in Victor Treadwell's "The Irish Parliament of 1569–71" (1966)

of Sidney's presence and appearance at this same parliament further confirms the notion of the greatness of his authority as he notes: "the lord deputie, representing hir maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Christes church… where he sat vunder the cloth of estate, being appareled in the princelie robes of crimson veluet doubled or lined with ermin" (341). Hooker similarly refer to the preface to the articles of parliamentary proceedings: "And here you must note, that what the kings and queens of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things" (345).

The danger of Hooker's commentary on Sidney's appearance at parliament lies in its interpretation of the lord deputy's authority. He is right in pointing out to readers that the lord deputy is an extension and a representation of the queen's authority. However, that authority does not include the right to imitate his monarch's royal image; Sidney's progresses and his practices at parliament usurps the royal authority. Hooker's description of Sidney's image reflects John Derricke's *The Image of Irelande* (1581), a work dedicated to Philip Sidney that celebrates his father's success in capturing Rory Óg O'More and bringing Turlough O'Neill to submission. In the background, Sidney is seen accepting the submission of O'Neill, but the same event is enacted more formally in the foreground, where "he sittes in honours seate, most comely to be seene, / As worthy for to represent the person of a Queene" (Derricke 144). Derricke acknowledges the queen's authority over her lord deputy but like Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, her textual presence is abstract and is made concrete only through the person of the lord deputy, who usurps her control. In the woodcut within Derricke's text, the queen is entirely absent and Sidney presents himself in the fashion of a king, seated under an ornate tent and surrounded by his knights. Images like this one in Derricke's work have prompted historians such as Hiram

Morgan to take a skeptical view of Sidney's complaints of the poor conditions and lack of appreciation and respect that he must endure in Ireland: "[The] elaboration of ceremonial was meant to honor the monarch in the person of her viceregal proxy but one must wonder at Sidney's role and purpose" (Morgan "Overmighty Officers" 19). We need only turn to the authorities in England to consider Morgan's comment, for these images of grandeur that undermined the royal person of the queen were certainly not well received in England for good reasons.



John Derricke's *The Image of Irelande* (1581), Plate XII.

The problem with delegated royal authority is the potential danger it can entail. In the queen's absence, Sidney as chief governor of Ireland is endowed with all the authority he needs

to raise armies and form alliances to his advantage. Ironically, governors who were perceived to be most popular in England were also considered to be the most dangerous *to* England. Sidney was well aware of this; in his *Memoir*, he notes that Edmund Butler accuses him of exploiting his connections in court to become king of Ireland (66). Sidney's predecessor, Sussex, was also accused of styling himself King of Ulster in Shane O'Neill's complaints to England. The lord deputy was often faced with criticism and his loyalty questioned because it was commonplace for those who did not agree with his policies to lodge complaints that cited his abuse of the queen's authority in England.

These complaints were not always dismissed as discontent, and when they became a cause for concern we begin to see the connection between representation and reality. Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* notes that Sidney's royal-like progresses were reported to the Privy Council in England, and the queen expresses concerns "that Leicester might through Sidney extend his clientage networks far into Ireland, the queen moved to curb the deputy's powers of patronage" (Brady *Chief Governors* 122). Hooker's representation of Sidney does not acknowledge the tensions between lord deputy and queen, and there is a sense that the authority delegated to Sidney is taken for granted as a wholesale transference of royal authority from the queen in England to her lord deputy in Ireland. This affirms Sir Edmund's accusation to some degree; Sidney notes in his *Memoir*: "[Edmund Butler] would say that the cause of his stir was, that the Earl of Leicester, enemy to his brother [the earl of Ormond] and his house, should marry the queen, and be king of England, and that I should be king of Ireland" (66). The queen's distrust and anxieties about her governor's usurpation of her royal image in Ireland are erased as supreme authority is inscribed in the deputy's achievements and practices in the realm, and it is through these that royal authority is made concrete in Hooker's historical narrative.

Sidney's representation of his experiences in Ireland and Hooker's representation of Sidney's authority there call attention to the uneasy relationship between crown and colonial government, and the intrinsic problems of a proxy government that at once imposes and undermines royal authority. These problems were widely recognized; Fynes Moryson has observed that it was understandable that delegated authority was an affair that caused anxieties, as "it may prove dangerous to give a great man the absolute command of a kingdom for many years the more so because without the monarch's presence a barbarous nation like the Irish were apt to worship the god they had before them"(Morgan "Overmighty Officers" 17). Hooker's textual portrayal of Sidney can be read as a parallel analogue to Derricke's woodcut: the former depicts Sidney as the supreme source of power in Ireland through his activities and practices and the latter glorifies the lord deputy's authority to grant pardons in a ceremonial manner that befits a monarch.[23]

Sidney may have dismissed Edmund Butler's charges that the lord deputy wanted to be king of Ireland and was usurping the royal authority as absurd and inconsequential. But he was nonetheless aware of the dangers of such accusations. In response to the pageant-like reception that welcomed him to Waterford, he notes in his report to England: "I was in such honourable manner received and entertained, as might better have been thought worthy gracious acceptation,

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[23] In the sixteenth-century, the act of granting pardons was prerogative of the English monarch: "The statues of 1536 and 1543 that extended royal jurisdiction into Wales and the liberties explicitly arrogated the power to pardon to the king," and "both justice and mercy became essential attributes of the king alone, no longer shared with any privileged subjects" (Kesselring 13). Ireland stands out as a unique case in this period as the authority to pardon is a standard in the chief governors' commissions. Ciaran Brady points out that it is precisely because of this—the viceroy's ability and authority to use, and even abuse, royal prerogative in Ireland—that makes his power comparable to the queen's ("Court, Castle" 41). Sidney's third term in office was especially difficult because he attempted to exercise his right to royal prerogative to impose tax bills (more famously known as "cess" or "composition") that were never introduced to parliament.

if it had been done to your most Princely Majesty, then to be looked for of so mean a subject as I am" (Brennan 45). Sidney then defuses "the danger of appearing to Elizabeth as having been seduced by the sheer grandeur of his own authority" (45). The tensions between queen and lord deputy that are so apparent in Sidney's *Memoir* are not acknowledged in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* because they are incompatible with his framework—one that emphasizes the univocal and absolute authority of the queen in England's conquest of Ireland and nations abroad. This narrative framework erases the internal conflict within the English government in the name of imperial conquest. Andrew Hadfield's consideration of the readers of the 1577 and 1587 *Irish Chronicle* underscores this notion: "Stanihurst's contribution to Holinshed's *Chronicles* was intended primarily for domestic English rather than colonial consumption" ("English Colonialism" 76). Hooker's work has a paradoxical effect. He depicts the queen's authority as accepted and unquestioned by her loyal deputy, and argues that there is little or no conflict in the delegation of royal authority. But in emphasizing Sidney's immense power in Ireland (nonetheless made valid only through the queen's commission), he implicitly subordinates the very source from which the deputy receives his authority.

Hooker's decision to have queen and lord deputy working together in perfect unity may also have been a response crafted to downplay the earlier image of Sidney as a threatening, overmighty subject. In the "Historie of England" section of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, references to Sidney, including three Latin poems in praise of the lord deputy, were removed and condensed; some of the lines that were removed reflect the anxieties of English authorities: "… for the more they contended to suppresse him, the more (like the camomill being foiled and trodden) his vertues rose up and appeared, and their malice was both unfolded and controlled" (Clegg *Press Censorship* and *Peaceable and Prosperous* 149, 543). It is important to keep in

mind that as lord deputy, those who oppressed Sidney were not merely Irish rebels. As Sidney writes in his *Memoir*, the earl of Ormond and the queen, under his influence, were also severely limiting Sidney's authority and curbing his influence in Ireland. Sidney is still portrayed as powerful in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, but his acts and behavior are rendered as assertion, not defiance, of royal authority. In *Memoir*, the queen's presence is perceived as a source of intrusion, and in Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, her absence is made present in Sidney's tremendous of power in Ireland. The two works essentially expose the fault lines of colonial governance in Ireland. As the pursuit for a complete conquest of Ireland became more urgent in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, questions of how to govern and reform Ireland under such divisive conditions began to show up in literary and historical treatises. Writers of these works, such as Edmund Spenser, considered reform schemes and considered whether the conquest should be completed with aggressive or persuasive means.

Chapter 3. Justice and Mercy in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* Book V

[L]iterary historians who study the great sixteenth-century poet Edmund Spenser, for example, do not connect his bloodthirsty plans for Ireland, where he imagined a British army virtually exterminating the native inhabitants, with his poetic achievement or with the history of British rule over Ireland, which continues today.[1]

Edward Said

Equity is a Roguish thing, for Law we have a measure, know what to trust to, Equity is according to the Conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is Equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make the Standard for the measure, we call [a Foot] a Chancellor's Foot, what an uncertain Measure would this be? One Chancellor has a long Foot, another a short Foot, a Third an indifferent Foot: 'Tis the same thing in the Chancellor's Conscience.[2]

John Selden

The Butler Rebellion that Lord Deputy Sidney had to quell in 1569 presented an accurate overview of the state of affairs in Ireland in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The Irish and Old English lost all faith in the government after the 1570s. For the first time in Irish history, the Butlers and Fitzgeralds joined forces to overthrow English rule. Historians have noted that the unprecedented cruelty at the rebellion and that even the Norman invasion "did not see such atrocities—systematic execution of non-combatants by martial law" (Canny "Ideology of English" 583). These observations are largely based on Thomas Churchyard's praise of Humphrey Gilbert, whom Sidney appointed as general of Connacht during the rebellion:

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[1] *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), 7.
[2] *Table Talk* (1689), 64.

> His maner was that the heddes of all those (of what sort soeuer thei were) whiche were killed in the daie, should bee cutte of from their bodies, and brought to the place where he incamped at night: and should there bee laied on the ground, by eche side of the waie leadyng into his owne Tente: so that none could come into his Tente for any cause, but commonly he muste passe through a lane of heddes, whiche he vsed ad terrorem, the dedde feelyng nothyng the more paines thereby: and yet did it bryng greate terrour to the people, when thei sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke, and freendes, lye on the grounde before their faces, as thei came to speake with the saied Collonell. Whiche course of gouernemente maie by some bee thought to cruell, in excuse whereof it is to bee aunswered. (sig. Q3v)

Gilbert's cruel ritual aimed to strike fear into the hearts of the Irish, but more importantly, it reflected the English government's attitude towards notions of submission and mercy in reforming Ireland: neither were recommended. Gilbert's approach was especially effective because the Irish "knewe his determination to be suche, as that if thei once refused mercie beyng offered, and yeelded not presently thei muste resolue theim selues to dye, manne, woman, and childe: if thei could not for euer withstande hym, by meanes whereof these commodities ensued (73). For Churchyard, Gilbert's government demonstrated that "the Princes mercie [is] so sacred a thyng, as that it ought to bee taken when it is offered, and not to be had when it is asked" (73). After the Butler Rebellion, the Irish believed that the English queen, who had promised to protect them as she would her English subjects, was bent on destroying the Irish race. These sentiments were reaffirmed during the Desmond Rebellion that took place ten years later. Lord Deputy Grey, Arthur Grey de Wilton, reenacted the violence that made Gilbert a notorious figure of brutality. Like Churchyard, proponents who justified the actions of Gilbert and Grey believed

"the sword" to be more effective in reforming Ireland than "the word" because the Irish would never yield to persuasion.

Edmund Spenser is frequently identified as a supporter of such policies because of his treatise, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (ca. 1596). In this work, Eudoxus and Irenius discuss solutions to the Irish problem in a Ciceronian dialogue, concluding that sheer military force is needed to conquer Ireland completely. *The Faerie Queene* Book V is also considered to be of special interest to historians and literary scholars for the same reason. As an allegory (and apology) for Lord Grey, the book argues that violence must be used to impose justice. What is less well examined is how this same book problematizes the implementation of justice and mercy so that there seems to be no way that both can exist simultaneously. This chapter takes a step back from stereotyping Spenser as one of many in the Elizabethan court who favored violence over persuasion. The violence that Spenser promotes in *A View* provides a rather one-dimensional view of his stance on the reformation of Ireland. Spenser's views should be reconsidered in Book V of the *Faerie Queene*, where his convictions on implementing justice through merciless and ruthless methods are destabilized.

My discussion does not seek to redress the "detestable" policies that Spenser advocated but calls attention to the ways that he allegorizes the implementation of justice (through violence) and mercy. Broadly, the implementation of justice in my study will be limited to the English government's attempts to extend royal authority in Ireland. More specifically I will focus on the English government's efforts to suppress and remove rebellious subjects, and to impose English views of civility and law in Ireland. This chapter argues that these themes do not place Spenser's poetry and political views at odds but contends that they present a narrative that exposes Spenser's uneasiness and ambivalence with the justification of violent reform. Book V

envisions a perfect justice that is absolute and rigid but the characters' perception of justice and mercy consistently disrupt that vision. On the surface, Artegall's and Talus' actions appear to promote the use of violence to justify the implementation of justice. But upon closer examination, their competing ideas of justice and mercy, in relation to Astraea and Gloriana, allegorize the prevailing ambivalent attitudes towards the reformation of Ireland. These ideas also question whether English justice should be imposed through sheer force or more conciliatory methods.

The Faerie Queene **Book V**

The implementation of justice through violence and the acknowledgement of the virtues of mercy are fully developed in Book V in a way that is delimited by the Ciceronian dialogue in *A View*. If we juxtapose these two texts, attempting to draw a conclusion as to the nature of Spenser's "solution" for Ireland, we must first acknowledge that both texts address similar problems from two differing viewpoints. *A View* was written as a treatise for an English audience that has never been to Ireland. But it also addresses the English court and colonial officials, and since it was compiled among the *State Papers of Ireland*, it clearly attracted the government's attention. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers often used the Ciceronian dialogue to explicate political problems. The classical tradition allowed writers to articulate their views systematically through what David Armitage terms "deliberative," "forensic," and "epideictic" categories, each having to do with the deliberation of the political, judicial, and demonstrative aspects of government problems respectively (Orr 985). Although Spenser uses all three

categories to express his opinions in *A View*, his work is entirely unlike other dialogue-based treatises of the period. Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594) is another dialogue-based treatise that attempts to solve Irish problems but is dressed up as a historical allegory. This work uses the conquered island of Salamina as a representation of Ireland, and her conqueror (Athens), to analyze the difficulties of establishing an effective judicial system for a newly colonized land.[3] Beacon's piece, though allegorical, is less riddled with contradictions and ambiguities than Spenser's. Eudoxus' lengthy digressions to Irenius' questions are structured in way that render the latter's opinions irrelevant; the aim of *A View* is less to persuade than to instruct and inform. As such, there is little room for Spenser to consider more subtle implications of his convictions, which can only be found in *The Faerie Queene*.

To read *The Faerie Queene* in an Irish context is to negotiate a space between allegorical narrative and the more immediate exigencies of contemporary policy-making, to weigh art alongside resolution. Deborah L. Madsen's observation of the allegory underscores the difficulty of trying to reach a meaningful understanding when an allegorical work like *The Faerie Queene* is studied alongside *A View*: "For allegory is twofold: it is simultaneously an interpretation and a metacritical statement that regulates interpretation. So in allegory, two kinds of truths can co-exist at the same time: truth as meaning of the narrative and truth as the interpretation of a prior text" (Madsen 95). From this standpoint, the alternatives to truth(s) can make allegory more explicitly critical than the historical treatise. It is the "metacritical statement" that is significant here because it bridges the two different genres and allows us to imagine *The Faerie Queene* and *A View* not as an analogue that reasserts each other but rather as an intertextual dialogue that

[3] For a detailed discussion on Beacon's political theory in this work, see D. Alan Orr's "Inventing the British Republic: Richard Beacon's *Solon his Follie* (1564) and the Rhetoric of Civilization" (2007).

exposes the strengths and weaknesses of the author's ideological visions. In Book V, the authority of justice is implemented through sheer force, and justice restores order and fairness to a savage land overrun with villains and rebels who obstruct Artegall's path to rescue Irena (Ireland). Yet, Spenser's characters also raise questions about whether this approach is essentially tenable through the expectations that he sets up in Artegall, Talus, Britomart, and Mercilla, and how each begin to undercut ideas of justice as absolute, fair, and rigid.

"The Legend of Justice" attempts to present justice as rigid and absolute, and as the representation of justice, Spenser's characters set up expectations for Artegall that are unrealistic. Artegall's name evokes a list of such expectations. A. C. Hamilton has pointed out that "Arth-egall" can be read as "equal or peer to Arthur" (and in Book III is revealed, as the son of Gorlois, to be Arthur's half-brother); "egal" suggests fairness and righteousness in judgment (510). Aside from this association with the mythical Arthur, literary critics have also identified him as Lord Arthur Grey because Astraea has charged him with the mission to rescue "Eirena" (a variation of the Gaelic name of Ireland, "Éire") from her oppressors (i.4.1-9). The tensions between the mythical and mortal Arthur are in fact raised in Astraea's relationship with Artegall. She is also depicted as a mythical figure that represents perfection: she chooses to abandon life on earth and ascend to the heavens after the world falls into "all filth and foule iniquitie" (i.5.7). But she leaves a viceroy in her place; Astraea adopts the infant Artegall:

> she him taught to weigh both right and wrong
> In equall ballance with due recompence,
> And equitie to measure out along,
> According to the line of conscience,
> When so it needs with rigour to dispence.

Of all the which, for want there of mankind,

She caused him to make experience

Vpon wyld beasts, which she in woods did find,

With wrongfull powre oppressing others of their kind. (i.7.1-9)[4]

Astraea's teachings are preoccupied with the scales of justice and the implementation of just reward and punishment but both are problematized here because her ideas of "equall ballance" and "line of conscience" are abstract. From the standpoint of Astraea, these views of justice are an extension of the perfection she represents. Because the mortal world does not live up to her ideals, she decides to leave, and before departing, she chooses Artegall as her viceroy: he is her instrument of perfect justice. His training in the woods with wild beasts may reflect the wildness that Lord Grey had to face in Ireland but it also underscores the uneasy notion that however uncivilized, men are *not* beasts. Because of this, Artegall is in reality ill-trained, and it soon becomes apparent that Astraea's theories of justice, however perfect from an immortal point of view, fall short when put into practice.

Artegall's quest begins successfully enough and his encounters with villainous characters depict Astraea's vision of righteousness, but her abstract and ambiguous ideas of justice are made concrete by Artegall's approach to punishment. When he meets Dony, Florimell's dwarf, he is told that Florimell is prevented from crossing a bridge because of the tyrannical bridgekeeper's antics. The bridgekeeper, Pollente, "Over his Bridge, albee he rich or poore/ But he him makes his passage-penny pay:/ Else he doth hold him backe or beat away" (ii.6.3-5). This exploitation of the people is not unlike the well-known practice of coign and livery among the Irish chieftains. When traveling, freeholders were compelled to provide food for their chieftain's

[4] All quotations from the *Faerie Queene* Book V are taken from Abraham Stoll's 2006 edition unless otherwise noted. All citations follow this order: canto, stanza, and line numbers.

horses (coign) and gallowglasses (livery) and these impositions varied widely. The Elizabethan government was especially critical of this practice and attempted to stamp out the practice entirely for decades in hopes of preventing the chieftains from maintaining private armies, though. In colonial discourse, these efforts were advertised as a move to protect the queen's poor Irish subjects.

Pollente's defeat can be read as an imagined triumph over the tyranny of coign and livery, but for Artegall, who has cut off Pollente's head, the punishment is not yet completed. Pollente's death is not enough and Artegall's actions after the execution expose his extreme approach to restoring justice and punishing those who are unjust:

> [Pollente's] corps was carried downe along the Lee,
> Whose waters with his filthy bloud it stayned:
> But his blasphemous head, that all might see,
> He pitcht upon a pole on high ordained;
> Where many years it afterwards remained,
> To be a mirrour to all mighty men,
> In whose right hands great power is contained,
> That none of them the feeble overren,
> But always doe their power within just compasse pen. (ii.19.1-9)[5]

The public exhibition of the heads of rebels in Ireland was a display of royal authority. In "Some Days Two Heads, Some Days Four," David Edwards points out that this practice is not uncommon in warfare, but that it intensified drastically after the 1540s with the emergence of a larger military presence in Ireland. What is more central to his essay is the development of a

[5] The *Variorum* associates this river with the Irish river Lee, where Sir John of Desmond was defeated in the Desmond rebellion and his corpse hung above the river.

practice in which English officials announced and offered large sums of money to anyone who could obtain the head of a rebel leader; the more sought after the rebel, the more "head money" there was for those bold enough to take on the task (19). When the enemies' heads were displayed, the message was stark: those who defied English law and English definitions of justice would be subjected to execution—there would be no tolerance for rebels. Artegall's execution of Pollente sends the same message and his insistence on carrying out this act suggests that he is not merely there to punish (for he has already done so by killing Pollente) or to provide assistance to those who are oppressed by Pollente's tyranny, but instead to send a larger political message. The act is a stamp of Astraea's authority and superiority, and it is through this act that he establishes his interpretation of Astraea's abstract notions of what justice means.

Artegall's extreme measures are to some degree reflected in Talus, his iron page. Talus, we are told, is a gift from Astraea and his job is "Alwayes, to execute her steadfast doome" (i.12.3). He is characterized as one who is "immoveable, resistlesse, without end./ Who in his hand an yron flale did hould, / With which he thresht out falsehood, and did truth unfould" (i.12.7-9). The separation of deception and truth is depicted in an imagery that requires force, but more distinctly, Talus is an iron man and does not respond to persuasion. When he pursues Pollente's daughter in her castle and she tries to plea and bribe him into sparing her:

> Thence he her drew
> By the faire lockes, and fowly did array,
> Withouten pitty of her goodly hew,
> That Artegall him selfe her seemeless plight did rew.
> Yet for no pitty would he change the course
> Of Justice, which in Talus hand did lye (ii.25.6-26.2).

The complete lack of pity in Talus is considered to be a virtue because the villains in *The Faerie Queene* are known for their using their glib tongues to deceive the knights into potentially dangerous traps that distract them from completing their tasks; shapeshifters like Malengin also pose a danger to the knight of Justice in that they appear always to be submissive but they are disloyal and deceptive. In the second edition of Holinshed's *Irish Chronicles*, John Hooker attributes the chaos in Ireland to the intrinsic "nature" of the Irish; when defeated, they are quick submit and make promises of obedience; when they are not watched, they "cast from themselues the obedience and dutifulness of true subiects" (369). The flail that Talus carries is also associated with a ferocity that suits him since the weapon is associated with the war god, Mars. The flail does not only represent "the emblem of Mars but also the club which Hercules carries and the scourge which is the terrible instrument of Jove and God's vengeful law"; while Hercules's club is "an instrument for preserving law and right," "flail carriers… were simply fearful, indiscriminately destructive giants… His flail is not a mere weapon for war and destruction, but an instrument of justice" (Apteker 47).

Artegall's and Talus' brand of justice is not only marked with brutality and mercilessness but their summary killings of Pollente and his daughter are carried out so swiftly that there is no interrogation or negotiation, which resembles the era of martial law in Ireland. The summary killings allude to the Smerwick Massacre; Lord Grey was accused of breaking faith with the rebels at Smerwick after apparently promising them safe return to their camps for the night (hence the term "Grey's faith"). The conflicting accounts from English, Irish, and Spanish reports suggest that Grey may have been possibly impatient with the rebels' negotiation and that

his slaughter included women and children.[6] Such massacres were not uncommon. Richard Harpole's and Francis Cosby's massacre at Mullaghmast in 1577 was apparently sanctioned by Henry Sidney.[7] The summary killings in the late 1500s were also associated with the increased use of martial law. The authorization and commission of martial law in Ireland were especially complex and problematic in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign in that the rules that govern the practice were essentially unwritten outside traditional and basic understanding of what it was meant to achieve.

Martial law, as it developed in England during the Northern Rebellion became a form of equitable justice. Then, martial law was not imposed only during war and revolt but as a peacekeeping and pre-emptive measure to prevent the spread of dissension against the government. Martial law was widely used in Ireland under Sussex's administration in the 1550s. And as the efforts of re-conquest mounted, so did the use of martial law, which essentially turned Ireland into a terror state: "Powers of pre-emptive martial law enabled commissioners to initiate war and to put entire villages to the sword with relative impunity" (Edwards "Beyond Reform" 18). Large-scale summary killings ordered by Sidney, Gilbert, and Grey were normally carried out under martial law, which was frequently commissioned countrywide by the 1560s. The number of atrocities committed during these periods should not be underestimated as the chief deputies did not have much control over their men. The hostile relationship between Lord

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[6] For a selected compilation contemporary accounts of Grey's actions at Smerwick, see A. O'Rahilly's "The Massacre at Smerwick" (1580). Catherine Canino has argued that contrary to popular views, Grey was in fact praised, not condemned, for his ruthlessness at Smerwick. Also see H S V Jones' *Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey* (1919) for Spenser's role in popularizing views of Grey as one who was "bloody" and who suffered great injustice for doing his job.

[7] *The Annals of Ireland* reported this tragic event and noted that the Irish were gathered under the pretense of military service but were shockingly murdered. Vincent Carey persuasively argues that John Derricke's *Image of Irelande* justified and celebrated the massacre in the imagined speech that is given by Rory Og O'More's decapitated head in the last section of the work (1999).

Deputy John Perrot and Sir Richard Bingham (nicknamed the "Flail of Connacht"), whom Christopher Highley associates with Talus, is an example (120). Even as Perrot was trying to contain the revolt of the Mayo clansmen in 1586, explicitly asking Bingham to give protection to the rebels, Bingham flouted orders and killed several imminent Irish chieftains under his commission of martial law. Like Gilbert, he believed that protecting the rebels was "less disgraceful in relation to himself than to the honor of the Crown" (Rapple "Taking Up Office" 291).

Despite his strained relationship with Perrot, Bingham was not without supporters. For instance, one of his captains, John Merby, felt that his actions were entirely justifiable: " 'Rigour… hath his time in all governments,' and moreover, "so small in respect of the multitude of the rest that in good policies and in the use of many old commonwealths the lives of so few have been thought well given for the preservation of so many" (Canny "Edmund Spenser" 9). Canny has pointed out that this line of thought dominated much of early modern writings on Ireland and that the preoccupation with justifying reform by violence "is one measure of the popularity these views enjoyed even among the less well-educated of the New English" (9). These people believed that for martial law to be effective, it had to be executed without mercy.

Bingham's brutality towards the rebels and innocent bystanders in Connacht was similar to Lord Grey's treatment of the Irish at Smerwick. Under martial law, English officers and their men were inclined to act with no accountability to the crown and the abuse of authority was rampant: "[Grey] by his own admission he executed nearly 1,500 'chief men and gentlemen' by martial law, 'not accounting those of meaner sort… and killing of churls, which were innumerable.' He even executed people in areas not in revolt. When he started executing Palesmen, including officials, for alleged conspiracy, he had to be recalled" (Morgan "Never

Any Realme" 301). The prevalence of these incidents under martial law sent only one message to the Irish: far from keeping her promise to protect her Irish subjects, the English queen appeared to be bent on wiping out the Irish from Ireland altogether. Even though she was trying to restrain her military representatives: "Elizabeth was made aware that her personal reputation as the upholder of justice had been impugned by the blood-thirsty behavior of her officials; far from being worshipped as Astraea, in many parts of Ireland she was castigated as a tyrant" (Edwards "Spenser's *View*" 140).

Talus' qualities underscore the lord deputy's approach to implementing justice under martial law, the urgency in so doing, and the necessity for crown support, all of which justifies summary executions. The egalitarian giant episode in Canto 1 allegorizes circumstances where martial law is and ought to be enforced: for instance, when one does not agree with the ideas of the reigning authority, and when the disagreement is sufficient for one to be rendered an enemy, and a threat to the status quo. In this episode, the giant is not specifically responsible for any misdeeds. He has not abducted any damsels or threatened the welfare of any Faerie knights, but he does not agree with Artegall's view of justice. He complains that the world has fallen and that

> he would all the earth uptake,
> And all the sea, devided each from either:
> So would he of the fire one ballaunce make,
> And one of th'ayre, without wind, or wether:
> And all that did within them all containe;
> Of all whose weight, he would not misse a fether.
> And looke what surplus did each remaine,
> He would to his owne part restore the same againe (ii.32.1-9)

Artegall is angry at the giant simply because the latter is attempting to upset the status quo, which is created by the Maker and should remain in place (ii.35.1-9). The giant's attempt to weigh equality is challenged by Artegall:

> For take thy ballaunce, if thou be so wise,
> And weigh the winde, that vnder heauen doth blow;
> Or weigh the light, that in the East doth rise;
> Or weigh the thought, that from mans mind doth flow.
> But if the weight of these thou canst not show,
> Weigh but one word which from thy lips doth fall.
> For how canst thou those greater secrets know,
> That doest not know the least thing of them all?
> Ill can he rule the great, that cannot reach the small. (ii.43.1-9)

The giant is finally frustrated because Artegall challenges him to weigh words, rights and wrongs, and two wrongs on the scale which he perceives to be justice.

The scales, as Elizabeth Fowler has pointed out, is an inadequate symbol for what Artegall is trying to convey here, it is "merely a metaphor for right and wrong, and the objectivity of justice, conveyed by the precise machinery of the scales, is an illusion" (63). Moreover, Fowler asserts that even though Artegall "conveys a praiseworthy ethical proposition (one must arrive at interpretive and moral judgments through thinking and listening rather than by accepting cultural icons at face value)," Artegall's "definition of what a judge does and as a theory of equity, it is woefully corrupt" (64). Fowler's observation is further confirmed when we consider the giant's response to Artegall, and later, Talus' treatement of the giant. Frustrated that Artegall has turned his definition of fairness with concrete (objects) into something that is

abstract (words), the quantitative into the qualitative, the giant then throws out Artegall's argument. Talus responds to the giant's dismissal of Artegall's views by throwing the giant over the cliff. In doing so, Talus demonstrates the tyranny of reason:

> He shouldered him from off the higher ground,
> And down the rock him throwing, in the sea him dround […]
>
> So downe the cliffe the wretched Gyant tumbled;
> His battred balances in peeces lay,
> His timbered bones all broken rudely rumbled,
> So was the high aspiring with huge ruine humbled. (ii.49-50. 8-9, 6-9)

The giant is killed because his ideological views are not compatible with Artegall's. The giant's fate underscores the abuse of authority and calls attention to accusations of Grey's execution of those who were suspected but not proven to have conspired with the Irish rebels.

Talus' treatment of the egalitarian giant also raises questions in the poem about the tyrannical nature of how justice is defined and how it can be mediated. The troubling aspects of what constitutes justice has been discussed in depth by Annabel Patterson's fine essay," "The Egalitarian Giant: Representations of Justice in History/Literature." Literary scholars who have traced Artegall's ideas of justice to the theories of Cicero, Plato, Jean Bodin, and most notably, Aristotle, emphasize Spenser's use of the term "equity," which has implications on how we understand his notion of justice. Artegall, we are told, is

> taught [by Astraea] to weigh both right and wrong
> In equall ballance with due recompence,
> And equitie to measure out along,

According to the line of conscience (i.6.1-4)

"Equity" and "conscience" are terms traditionally used in the Court of Chancery and associated to a form of legal proceedings specific to that court and departing from the strict adherence to custom, statute and prescription in the common law courts: "[The] Chancellor did not have any clearly defined jurisdiction, but dispensed an extraordinary justice remedying the defects of the common law on grounds of conscience and natural justice, a function for which he was well qualified, as he was commonly an ecclesiastic, well versed in both the civil and canon law. He was, indeed, sometimes called the 'Keeper of the King's Conscience' "(Pettit 5). Spenser's use of "equity" and "conscience"to some degree overlaps with the more technical use of the terms used to negotiate disputes in the Court of Chancery.[8] Nonetheless Spenser associates equity with justice when he depicts Isis when Britomart enters her temple in Canto VII: he describes Osyris as the "iustest" and "truest" man alive, and his wife Isis "A Goddesse of great powre and souerainty/ And in her person cunningly did shade/ That part of Iustice, which is Equity (vii.3.1-4).[9] Spenser's understanding of "equity" is more directly influenced by Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and because the theory behind it is so central to Spenser's views on Ireland, it should be quoted at length:

> When the law speaks universally, then, and a case arises on it which is not covered by the universal statement, then it is right, where the legislator fails us and has erred by over-

[8] Also see Andrew J. Majeske's *Equity in English Renaissance Literature: Thomas More and Edmund Spenser* (2006).

[9] René Graziani's "Elizabeth at Isis Church" (1964) attempts to decipher Britomart's bizzare dream in the temple of Isis and uses the crocodile, who rescues and then attacks Britomart, as a means to discuss the function of equity as a mediator for excess. Graziani argues that "Britomart's union with a severity restrained by clemency then produces a righteous strength sufficient to confound all enemies," and that her "initiation into the new principle of equity is necessary for Artegall's completeness, and is a prerequisite to his being introduced later to Mercilla" (376).

> simplicity, to correct the omission—to say what the legislator himself would have said had he been present, and would have put into his law if he had known. Hence the equitable is just, and better than one kind of justice—not better than absolute justice but better than the error that arises from the absoluteness of the statement. And this is the nature of the equitable, a correction of law where it is defective owing to its universality. *In fact this is the reason why all things are not determined by law*, viz. that about some things it is impossible to lay down a law so that a decree is needed. (my emphasis) (421)

The extra-legal nature of equity that Aristotle discusses illustrates that questions of interpretation and authority become tangled in the process to determine the extent to which equity is applicable. Essentially, the theory can be applied where "universal statement" fails to provide answers or solutions to any given problem. In the absence of Astraea, Artegall and Talus assume the authority to make decisions that they imagine she might make, and it is Talus' action that demonstrates how equity works in the allegorical salvage island of Book V.

Equity becomes problematic in Talus' treatment of the giant. In allowing authority to function outside of universal law in unusual circumstances, Aristotle means also to allow room for the self-same authority to mediate the rigidity of the law. Spenser's interpretation was thus quite different from another early modern writer, when the lawyer Christopher St German. Andrew Zurcher's astute observation of St German's *De Fundamentis Legum Anglie et De Conscientia* ("On the Bases of the Laws of England, and Of Conscience") (ca. 1523-32) calls attention to how "equity" and "conscience" are associated with Seneca's concept of *clemential* "as dispensations from severe, even equitable justice" (133). For St German, "equytye is a ryghtwysenes that consideryth all the peryculer cyrcumstances of the dede the which also is temperyd with the swetnes of mercye," and he also stressed that "equytie is ordeyned that is to

say to temper and myttygate the rygoure of the law" (Zurcher 133). Talus' response to the giant's debate with Artegall illustrates Spenser's views of Ireland, since equity is not presented as a means to mediate the rigor of the law but rather to justify the need for such rigor. The illustration is clear: there is no room for competing claims of justice just as, in the reformation of Ireland, there is no alternative to the use of sheer force.

Elizabeth's tendency to pity and clemency was considered to be detrimental to war efforts in Ireland, and her status as a female monarch was especially worrisome for those with hardline policies for Irish reformation. These anxieties are allegorized in Artegall's encounter with Radigund: this episode explicitly condemn notions of clemency, and more particularly, pity. Spenser's stance on clemency and pity is laid out in the early cantos: Artegall and Talus show neither clemency and pity in their actions. Astreae's gift of Talus to Artegall becomes apparent when he battles with Radigund; after disarming her and discovering her face:

> At sight thereof his cruell minded hart
> Empierced was with pittifull regard,
> That his sharpe sword he threw from him apart,
> Cursing his hand that had that visafe mard:
> No hand so cruell, nor no hart so hard,
> But ruth of beautie will it mollfie. (v.13.1-6)

Unlike Talus, who is "Unmov'd with priers, or piteous thought,/ that [Munera] ment him to corrupt with goodly meede," Artegall is too weak to resist the beauty of Radigund and finds himself defeated and held captive by her people. (ii.23.2-3). Spenser sets Talus up as the idealized vision of what justice ought to look like very early on in Book V in Talus' pursuit of Munera. When Artegall sees Munera defeated, Spenser's narrator says: "Yet for no pitty would

he change the course/ Of Justice, which in Talus hand did lye;/ Who rudely hayld her forth without remorse" (ii.26.1-3). Talus is that perfect and absolute embodiment of justice that keeps Artegall "in check." Because Talus is made of iron, he does not, or rather, cannot respond to his foes' human qualities, whether they pray for mercy, offer bribes, or are revealed to be a beautiful female warrior, under her armor. Talus epitomizes Spenser's perfect justice—perpetually infallible and rigid under any conditions. To demonstrate that, the conviction of Artegall, the knight of justice, is undermined by Radigund's beauty. But in this passage, Spenser's narrator presents Artegall's weakness for beauty as secondary to his wish to show mercy, which proves even more dangerous.

Artegall's mercy towards Radigund is his downfall, and this is especially apt since pity is often considered to be a feminine quality. He is forced to abandon his arms, put on women's clothes and do women's chores. His plight is considered to be the ultimate humiliation for a martial man, and the poem's narrator emphasizes this:

> So hard it is to be a womans slave.
> Yet he [Artegall] tooke in his owne selfes despight,
> And thereto did himself right well behave,
> Her to obay, sith he his faith had plight,
> Her vassal to become, if she him wonne in fight. (v.23.5-9)

The commentary on the Amazonian queen, Radigund, no doubt calls attention to England's queen. Throughout the entire poem, Artegall is in Astraea's service. Likewise lord deputies such as Grey were in the queen's service. The gender markers are unmistakable. Artegall is defeated because he shows mercy and as a consequence, his martial prowess and masculinity are stripped from him. Instead of making fighters and protectors of her male prisoners, Radigund sets them to

woman's tasks—she has "disabled" martial men from what they are trained to do and she emasculates them. The narrator in the poem criticizes female rule by commenting:

> Such is the crueltie of womenkynd,
>
> When they haue shaken off the shamefast band,
>
> With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd,
>
> T'obay the heasts of mans well ruling hand,
>
> That then all rule and reason they withstand,
>
> To purchase a licentious libertie.
>
> But vertuous women wisely vnderstand,
>
> That they were borne to base humilitie,
>
> Vnlesse the heauens them lift to lawfull soueraintie. (v.25.1-9)

Women are placed in an inferior sphere here, as a distraction and obstruction to men's work. However, the last line indicates that not *all* women are the same, since gender roles do not apply to monarchs ("lawful soueraintie"). This is further reasserted when Britomart, clad in her armor, rescues Artegall from Radigund's camp; in both episodes, gender roles are inverted. Elizabeth framed herself in a similar manner when she proclaimed in her famous Tilbury speech (1588) that she had the body of a woman but "the heart and stomach of a king."[10] The remark erases gender assumptions but at the same time reasserts them, and more interestingly, it creates a new set of criteria for monarchs: women are weak and not made for martial affairs. But men,

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[10] There remains some contradiction in the way Spenser associates mercy and pity with Artegall's plight. Artegall is defeated and captured by Radigund because he is too prone to mercy and pity: this seems to suggest that if one is not rigorous in imposing justice, one is condemned to failure and punishment. Yet, as Brian Lockey has pointed out, Artegall is saved by Britomart, who "embodies the form of equity, the corrective of an overly rigorous interpretation of the law, that is largely missing in Artegall's early applications of justice" (" 'Equity to Measure', " 56). Essentially, Artegall is rescued by the very same quality that led to his capture.

excepting the monarch, who is unlike ordinary men and women are not bound to gender conventions but instead transcend those limitations.[11] This gender ambiguity is assertive on the one hand, but can also be read as alluding threateningly to Ireland: "Like English authority, the female's place in colonial space has yet to be established […] Elizabeth, unlike the chaste and martial Britomart, fails to 'move' in a decisive manner, thereby ceding the majority of the land to the Irish" (McCleod 55). If in the last line of the passage above Spenser's narrator tries sidestep his criticism that women are cruel and prone to pity and mercy, the narrator succeeds only for a brief moment: Mercilla's attitude towards Duessa repeats the same criticism.

The conflict between justice and mercy is expounded in Canto 10, but the narrator's attempt to depict the two as incompatible falters, suggesting an uneasiness with his conviction that justice must be perfect and rigid. Nonetheless, his narrator acknowledges that one is intrinsically a part of the other:

> Some Clarkes doe doubt in their deuicefull art,
>
> Whether this heauenly thing, whereof I treat,

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[11] The queen's anxieties of how her subjects perceive the authority and abilities of a female monarch have generated a vast amount of scholarship. Much of it focuses on her repeated attempts to remind not only the martial men, but her parliament, that her female body does not undermine her princely (male) authority:

> A female head to a male body politic poses the problem of monstrosity Knox trumpeted so impoliticly months before Elizabeth ascended the throne, and she was continually forced to remind her Parliaments, in exactly those terms, of her authority: 'I will deal therein for your safety, and offer it to you as your Prince and head without request; for it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head" (Quilligan 170).

Spenser's representation of female rule is troubling in that their authority constantly shifts and is never stable for any extended period of time. The instability no doubt reflects some of the more troubling aspects of female ruler, especially during times of crisis. Some of the more definitive criticism on Spenser's views on this subject can be found in Susanne Woods' "Spenser and the Problem of Women's Rule" (1984); Josephine Roberts' "Radigund Revisited: Perspectives on Women Rulers in Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*" (1990); Mary R. Bowman's " 'She there as Princess rained': Spenser's Figure of Elizabeth" (1990); Walker, Julia M. (ed. and introd.) *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana* (1998); Donald Stump's "A Slow Return to Eden: Spenser on Women's Rule" (1999).

To weeten Mercie, be of Justice part,

Or drawne forth from her by diuine extreate.

This well I wote, that sure she is as great,

And meriteth to haue as high a place,

Sith in th'Almighties euerlasting seat

She first was bred, and borne of heauenly race;

From thence pour'd down on men, by influence of grace. (x.1.1-9)

In terms of reformation, the narrator continues with this line of thought, and believes "it is greater prayse to save, then spill,/ And better to reforme then cut off the ill" (x.2.8-9). But yet, he insists that justice is "that Vertue… of so great might,/ Which from just verdict will for nothing start,/ Oft spilles the principall, to save the part" (x.2.1-4). These lines sit uncomfortably alongside praises of mercy and from the opening stanzas of the Canto; there is confusion about which stance the narrator is taking, especially since the narrator has consistently justified rigidity and brutality as justice. Mercilla is at the center of this problem; when Artegall meets Mercilla for the first time after saving her maid, Samient, from the evil Souldan and his wife, Adicia, Spenser's narrator heaps praise on this fairy queen:

Her name Mercilla most men vse to call;

That is a mayden Queene of high renowne,

For her great bounty knowen over all,

And soveraine grace, with which her royall crowne

She doth support, and strongly beateth downe

The malice of her foes, which her envy,

And at her happinesse do fret and frowne:

Yet she her selfe the more doth magnify,

And even to her foes her mercies multiply. (viii.17.1-9)

The foes, whom Mercilla "strongly beateth down" also receive her mercies. Artegall's failure to "beateth down" on Radigund (and the humiliation that he suffers as a result of his inclination to mercy) and Talus's ability to refrain from corrupted pleas from his enemies clearly demonstrate that Mercilla's form of justice is not compatible with the one that the narrator appears to advocate.

Mercilla's attitude towards the judgment of Duessa, long associated with the incarnation of Mary Queen of Scots, further emphasizes the implications of mercy when Spenser calls attention to the reaches of Mercilla's grace: "Those Nations farre thy justice doe adore:/ But thine owne people do thy mercy prayse much more" (x.3.8-9). Her subjects' admiration for her mercy, however, has limitations:

Against *Duessa*, damned by them all;

But by her tempred without griefe or gall,

Till strong constraint did her thereto enforce.

And yet even then ruing her willful fall,

With more then needful natural remorse,

And yielding the last honour to her wretched corse (x.4.4-9)

Abraham Stoll notes in his edition of Book V that "strong constraint" refers to the execution of Mary, but Andrew Rambuss has also suggested that a more nuanced reading can also interpret it as the pressure that was placed on Elizabeth by her closest advisors to put a death sentence on

Mary Queen of Scots.[12] This line of interpretation draws parallels between Artegall and Mercilla, who unlike Talus and the queen's wise advisors, are prone to "feminine vacillations towards leniency" (108). Artegall's moment of weakness only implicates himself (and Britomart), but Mercilla's reluctance to implement justice threatens the welfare of her whole kingdom.

The heightened sense of urgency and the limitations of what constitutes royal virtue in times of crisis echo Elizabeth's reluctance to declare war on Ireland and her concerns of excessive bloodshed that may result from it. In 1595, Sir Robert Cecil noted to Sir John Dowdall that "Her Majesty is not alienated from mercy if honour and security it may be effected. Her Majesty is displeased to find the terms war and peace both in the Deputy's writings and [John] Norreys's instead of rebellion" (*CSPI* 1592-96/426). The distinction between war and rebellion implicitly allowed the queen to exercise mercy as she needed; war implied that she was fighting enemies and there was little justification for showing mercy to foreign enemies of England; rebellion asserted her sovereignty over Ireland and the rebels were essentially unruly subjects. She remained adamant about this approach even as late as preparations were being made for the earl of Essex to lead the English army against the Irish rebels in 1599, when she was reported to have insisted that "the very name of conquest in this case seemeth so absurd to us as we cannot imagine upon what ground it could enter into any man's conceit that our actions, tending only to reduce a number of unnatural and barbarous rebels and to root out the capital head of the most notorious traitors, should need any such title of conquest" (qtd. in Kesselring 196).

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[12] On the accuracy and fictive elements of Duessa's trial, see Diane Parkin-Speer's "Allegorical Legal Trials in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*" (1992). On King James VI's attempts to have the book banned in 1596 because of Spenser's depiction of Mary, see Richard McCabe's "The Masks of Duessa: Spenser, Mary Queen of Scots, and James VI" (1987), and Cyndia Susan Clegg's "Justice and Press Censorship in Book V of Spenser's 'Faerie Queene' " (1998).

Spenser's representation of justice as rigid and ruthless in Book V is at odds with mercy, which interestingly does not show up at all as a dedicated book of virtue in any of the installments of *The Faerie Queene*, even though he notes in his Letter to Ralegh that "In Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery land." Spenser's downplaying of mercy as a virtue is significant because Elizabeth presented herself as a merciful monarch at her ascension. Furthermore, mercy was long considered as a necessary quality in a good monarch. Of the five swords used at English coronations, *Curtana*, or the Sword of Mercy (also known as the Edward the Confessor's sword) features a broken blade, which suggests that restraint was expected of the reigning monarch (Jones,William 74). That the sword takes its place among the swords of State, Justice, Justice to Spirituality, and Justice to Temporality, indicates that perfect justice must be tempered with mercy.

From the early years of her reign, Elizabeth repeatedly asserted her merciful qualities. For instance, her translation of Cicero's *Pro Marcello*, a text that focuses on Caesar's clemency, shows that "she rejected the implication that pity was a female quality that male subjects might interpret as weakness. Instead she engaged with an all-male world where Cicero represents clemency as rational, manly strength" (Mueller and Scodel 6). Her admiration of Caesar's forgiveness of Marcellus reflects her views of how a monarch should rule, that it is better to be loved than feared, in contradiction of Machiavelli's advice in *The Prince*. Even as late as 1603, at the end of the Nine Years War, the queen continued to believe that mercy could reform the Irish, "agreeing to spare an Irish rebel leader, she claimed that 'clemency hath as eminent a place in supreme authority as justice and severity' " (10). There is little doubt that Elizabeth's views of the role that mercy plays in the government of a nation were heavily influenced by continental

humanist theories, which may have included Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governor* (1531). Elyot's "Second Boke" hails mercy as the most important and essential of all royal virtues:

> *Mercy is* and hath bene ever of suche estimation with mankynde, that not onely reason persuadeth, but also experience proveth, that in whome mercy lacketh, and is not founden, in hym all other vertues be drowned, and lose their juste commendation.
>
> The vice called crueltie, whiche is contrary to Mercy, is by good reason mooste odious of all other vyces, in as moche as lyke a poyson or contynuall pestylence, it distroyeth the generation of manne. Also lykewise as norishyng meates and drinkes in a sycke bodye, doo lose their bountie and augmente the malady, semblably dyvers virtues in a person cruel and malicious, be not onely obfuscate or hyd, but do minister occasion and assistence to crueltie. (sig. Q2v)

Elyot's perception of cruelty as "a poyson or contynuall pestylence, it distroyeth the generation of manne," was considered to be impractical for rule in Ireland. But even after the Nine Years War began, Elizabeth tried to protect her image as a merciful and protective monarch to her Irish subjects. Her views of mercy were not fabricated to win over the hearts of her Irish subjects.[13] Sir Geoffrey Fenton noted to Burghley that the rebels continue to be recalcitrant because they

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[13] Just one year into the war, Sir John Dowdall complained to Burghley that the queen's mercy only fueled more courage in the rebels but more importantly, that the government was criticized either ways:

> Who is it of them [the Irish rebels] but hath felt of Her Majesty's mercy, and a great many that have been rewarded by her bounty for small deserts or none, if they be governed by a mild hand and accounted of, and so rewarded, they swell in pride and say that the Governor standeth in doubt of feareth of them; but if he be severe with justice in one hand and the sword in the other to use it according to equity, they say he is a tyrant, and desire to have such a one removed, being most meet to govern this nation. (*CSPI* 1592-1596/484).

believe that the queen "will not long bear the burden of a resolute and short war, which is an old opinion retained from hand to hand by the traitors of this realm, and gathered chiefly of Her Majesty's princely custom, to take in offenders by mercy, thinking thereby to bind them faster in duty and obedience afterwards, *which rare virtue in Her Majesty hath been always lost upon them*" (my emphasis) (*CSPI* 1592-96/457). Fenton thinks that the queen's misplaced mercy suggests that she was confusing mercy and pity; the one having to do more with reason and the second with emotion (Kesselring 20).

If justice and mercy are at odds in Artegall's quest to rescue Irena, then pity, as an emotional extension of mercy, also appears in Canto 11, as a troubling element in his attitude towards those who seek help. Arthur and Artegall are depicted as heroes who right injustice. But it is through pity, not mercy, that they are given opportunities to exhibit their sense of justice and knightly virtues. Canto 11 is the longest of the 12 in Book V. In 58 stanzas, Arthur and Artegall simultaneously rescue supplicants to Mercilla. The two events in this Canto—the rescue of Belgae from Geryoneo and Flourdelis from Grandtorto (who is also holding Irena captive)—may appear to complement each other because Arthur and Artegall are both successful in defeating the foes of the oppressed characters and restoring justice. But in reality, Artegall falls short of Arthur's achievements in the larger turnout of events.

Geryoneo's oppression of Belgae has long been read as an allegory of the Spanish oppression of the Dutch in the Low Countries. Arthur's defeat of Geryoneo is nothing less than a restoration of justice and peace to an entire nation (with the help of the most well-known knight in English history). Not only is Arthur able to restore the island to Belgae, he is successful in completing a task that was generally perceived to be immensely difficult in Ireland. Just as he prepares to leave her after he slays Geryoneo, she pleads:

Ah Sir, but mote ye please,

Sith ye thus farre have tendred my poore case,

As from my chiefest foe me to release,

Tha your victorious arme will not yet cease,

Till ye have rooted all the relickes out

Of that vilde race, and stablished my peace (xi.18.2-7)

Belgae's references to relics, altars, and sacrifices underscore the catholic affiliation of her oppressors and the monster who takes refuge in the church. Arthur's response to Belgae is not mercy but pity for she is not asking him to spare her but rather to save her. He destroys the church and the monster, freeing Belgae and her children of the catholic monster. Arthur's achievement cannot be underestimated especially in terms of the failure of religious reformation in Ireland.

Even after consistent attempts, through the Acts of Supremacy in Henry VIII and Elizabeth's reign, the imposition of the Book of Common Prayer in Latin, English, and Irish, and the enforcement of heavy fines and punishment on those who failed to adhere to the Church of England, religious reformation in Ireland had very limited success.[14] After Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, Irish rebels turned to the faith-and-fatherland argument to

[14] J. A. Watt's *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (1970) remains the most definitive study on the development of catholicism in early Ireland as it provides a foundation on the evolution of the church after Henry II's arrival in the 12th century. Alan Ford's and John McCafferty's (ed.) *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (2005) traces the relations between the two churches in the 16th and 17th centuries and provides a more in-depth discussions policy-making, and the social implications of religious reformation. Also see Ford's "Dependent or Independent? The Church of Ireland and its Colonial Context, 1536-1649" (1995). Cross-border implications of the reformation can be found in Elizabethanne Boran's and Crawford Gribben's (ed.) *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700* (2006). Focus on the Pale community and the Dublin council can be found in James Murray's *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534-1590* (2009).

form wider and more powerful alliances within Ireland, and more dangerously, with catholic counterparts, like Spain. Despite the strong protestant background of the ruling New English in Ireland, the queen was hesitant to implement religious programs that would encourage the catholic community to seek aid from Spain and Rome against English forces. She warned officials in Ireland to refrain from persecuting catholics for the sake of religion and without outward show of disobedience of the law (Canny *Making Ireland* 64). Despite the anti-catholic sentiments in *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser's *A View* argues that religious reformation is secondary to military conquest in Ireland: Irenius, an allegorical figure for the New English colonist, absolves the ecclesiastical authorities there for failing to reform the Irish.[15] This failure is attributed to

> the inconvenience of the time and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realme hath continually beene turmoyled; for instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we seeke to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity, for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard or rather impossible it is to settle a good opinion in the minds of men for matters of religion doubtfull, which have doubtlesse an evil opinion of us. For ere a new be brought in, the old must be removed (*View* 84)

The tensions that arise from different priorities are common in the letters of complains from religious leaders accusing the lord deputies for not making religious reformation a priority. The lord deputies noted, like Spenser's Irenius, that there was simply no way to instigate religious

[15] There is an immense amount of scholarship on Spenser and religion; a more recent re-assessment of this subject can be found in Anne Lake Prescott's "Complicating the Allegory: Spenser and Religion in Recent Scholarship" (2001), and Andrew Hadfield's aptly entitled "Spenser and Religion—Yet Again" (2011).

reform, because the task of quelling the seemingly endless rebellions was more pressing.[16] The question of whether religious reformation was more important than military conquest (and vice versa) persisted throughout Elizabeth's reign. Under these conditions, Spenser's depiction of Arthur's encounter with Belgae can be read as an allegory that embodies a self-fulfilling prophecy in which military conquest of and religious reformation in Ireland are both successfully achieved. This almost mythical vision is completed by the equally mythical British prince.

If Spenser's narrator in Book V equates mercy with reason and pity with emotion, then the narrator suspends these assumptions for Artegall: it is through his pity for Belgae that he is able to right the injustices that have been imposed on her (and her sons). Alongside the perfect pity and justice that Arthur embodies, Artegall falls short. That unfavorable contrast further emphasizes Artegall's inability to uphold or represent the rigid and perfect notions of justice and mercy established in the Book V. For instance, unlike Arthur who immediately attends to Belgae's pleas for justice, Artegall only remembers his task to save Irena when Irena's attendant, Sir Sergis, reminds him:

> 'And now he [Grantorto] hath to her prefixt a day,
> By which if that no champion doe appeare,
> Which will her cause in battailous array
> Against him justifie, and prove her cleare
> Of all those crimes, that he gainst her doth reare
> She death shall by.' Those tidings sad

[16] The enmity between Lord Deputy Leonard Grey and the first Archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, illustrates this clash. The conflict between the two was well-known in their time and each accused the other for plotting schemes that would ruin their careers in Ireland. See James Murray's "Ecclesiastical Justice and the Enforcement of the Reformation: The Case of Archbishop Browne and the clergy of Dublin" (1995).

Did much abash Sir Artegall to heare,
And grived sore, that through his fault she had
Fallen into that Tyrants hand and usage bad. (xi.40.1-9)

Embarrassed by his delay, Artegall assures the attendant

But witnesse unto me, ye heavens that know
How cleare I am from blame of this upbraide:
For ye into like thraldome me did throw,
And kept from complishing the faith, which I did owe. (xi.41.6-9)

Abraham Stoll has suggested that Artegall's contradiction, of first admitting his tardiness and then shifting the blame to the heavens, may "reflect Artegall's ambivalent guilt about his encounter with Radigund, which delayed him, as well as Spenser's ambivalence toward the vacillations of English policy in Ireland" (157). But the Radigund episode is only one of many that delayed Artegall. As an allegorical figure for Lord Grey, Artegall speaks to Irena's attendant in ways that recall the conditions that Lord Grey faced in Ireland. It was common for lord deputies to be accused of neglecting their duties (of protecting the queen's subjects), especially when he was campaigning with his men beyond the Pale, leaving the English-dominated region with only a small force and vulnerable to raids by the Irish rebels.

Sir Henry Sidney is said to have warned Grey upon assuming his appointment in Ireland that "special care should be taken to ensure the safety of this English part, 'for a cottage burnte there will be made more here than a towne burnte in Mounster' " (Henley 31). The accuracy of Sidney's comment cannot be overestimated. Complaints from the Pale were plentiful and frequently reached the queen and her ministers in England, forcing the lord deputies to justify why the Pale was left unprotected. But more significantly, they also affected the government of

the entire island because responses to the complaints entailed deferring or re-strategizing plans to contain the outbreak of revolt in Ireland. Essentially, the lord deputy was placed in a difficult position that exposed him to criticism no matter what he did: if he remained to protect the Pale, he risked the spread of rebellion elsewhere. If he attended to the revolts, he risked the wrath of the Pale community.[17]

Artegall's delay, and the repeated events that distract him rescuing Irena, provide an accurate and striking commentary on the conditions under which the lord deputies had worked. Artegall is expected to attend to a constant and endless flow of complaints even when he cannot do so. He promises Sir Sergis that he will reach Irena within the ten days' grace period that Grantorto has given to challenge him. But in the same scene, Artegall stops, out of pity, to save a nameless maid who, "Crying, and holding up her wretched hands/ [,] To him for aide, who long in vaine their [a rude crowd] rage withstands" (xi.44.8-9). After that, he saves Sir Burbon, who is also pursued by the same crowd and whose faithless lady, Flourdelis, has left him because she is enticed by Grantorto's gifts. When Artegall finally finds her and reunites the two, Flourdelis refuses to leave with Burbon but he takes her away by force:

> […] Burbon straight dismounting from his steed,
>
> Unto her ran with greedie great desire,
>
> And catching her fast by her ragged weed,

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[17] Frederick M. Jones's *Mountjoy, 1563-1606: The Last Elizabethan Deputy* provides a helpful overview of the conflict between the Palesmen and Lord Deputy Mountjoy during the most crucial period of the war (1600-03). Mountjoy repeatedly complained about the lack of support from the Pale. He was also immensely frustrated that the Palesmen were disrupting his campaign with petty concerns and complaints to the queen while he was in the midst of a war. In his complaints, he gave the impression that the Palesmen did not consider the war as *their* war against the Irish rebels but rather, they saw themselves as victims caught in the crossfire between the English and the Irish.

Would have embraced her with hart entire.

But she backstarting with disdainefull yre,

Bad him avaunt, ne would unto his lore

Allured be, for prayer nor for meed.

Whom when those knights so forward and forlore

Beheld, they her rebuked and upbrayded sore (xi.61.1-9).

Artegall's experience in the second half of Canto 11 appears all the more awkward and clumsy after Arthur defeats Geryoneo and successfully rescues and restores Belgae's rights. Justice is well served in this episode, his pity for Belgae is virtuous, and his achievements are celebrated accordingly when he is

Crowned with girlonds of immortall baies,

And all the vulgar did about them throng

To see the man, whose everlasting praise

They all were bound to all posterities to raise. (xi.34.6-9)

Artegall's achievements appear insignificant next to Arthur's for a number of reasons. He apologizes to Sir Sergis for his delay to support Irena but then wastes more time attending to the pleas of the nameless maid and Sir Burbon. Neither thanks him for his help and no one observes his actions as righting any great injustice. In fact, the help that he extends to Burbon hardly calls for thanks or celebration from either party: Burbon regains what is rightfully his but Flourdelis departs with him as an oppressed figure. Both depart unhappily, raising questions about whom Artegall has helped? And all the while, Irena is kept waiting.

While Arthur's pity is a virtue, Artegall's pity distracts him from acting urgently to rescue Irena. Artegall's achievements are anti-climactic at best. The closing scene in Canto 11

further underscores the stark difference between Arthur's and Artegall's quest. No celebrations await Artegall and Talus:

> Nathlesse the yron man did still pursew
> That raskall many with *unpittied* spoyle,
> Ne ceased not, till all their scattred crew
> Into the sea he drove quite from that soyle,
> The which they troubled had with great turmoyle.
> But Artegall seeing his cruell deed,
> Commaunded him from slaughter to recoyle,
> And to his voyage gan againe proceed:
> For that the terme approaching fast, required speed. (my emphasis) (xi.65.1-9)

For the first time, master and page are depicted in opposition. Talus' unflinching ruthlessness conflicts with Artegall's pity for the rude peasants ("scattered crew"). In restraining what he perceives to be cruelty, Artegall shows himself to be unfit to enact the rigid and unmoving justice that Spenser's Astraea represents. Also notable is the depiction of the chain of authority in this passage. The iron page is unfeeling and as such, he is an ideal representation of a rigid justice, but his ruthlessness also renders him incapable of judging, since he cannot recognize what equity is. Artegall at once is and is not a better judge than Talus: if equity allows a judge to make distinctions and exceptions in cases of injustice, then he must also be able to identify, acknowledge, and moderate the rigidity of the law. Artegall has the potential to be able to do so, but Spenser's narrator repeatedly reminds readers that Artegall cannot distinguish mercy from pity.

Artegall's shortfalls undercut Spenser's own notions of rigid justice; they emphasize that there are no conclusive ways to best imagine and achieve justice that is fair, merciful and righteous. The chain of events that lead to and take place after Artegall's defeat of Grantorto best illustrate this Spenserian ambivalence. As Artegall and Talus approach the place for the appointed tournament, they meet Grantorto's subjects, whom Talus immediately tries to destroy. But again, "Artegall him seeing so to rage,/ Willd him to stay, and signe of truce did make" (xii.8.1-2). Artegall has been consistently filled with pity and reluctant to resort to unnecessary bloodshed, since encountering Radigund. But this finally changes after he kills Grantorto and restores Irena to her castle:

> During which time, that he did there remaine,
> His studie was Justice how to deale,
> And day and night employ'd his busie paine
> How to reforme that raggled common-weale:
> And that same yron man which could reveale
> All hidden crimes, through all that realme he sent,
> To search out those, that usd to rob and steale,
> Or did rebell against lawful government;
> On whom he did inflict most grevious punishment. (xii.26.1-9)

After repeated instructions to stay Talus from excessive brutality, Artegall suddenly reverts to military attack as he did at the beginning of Book V. The sudden turn from restraining Talus to giving him orders to seek out those who "rob and steale," and "inflict most grevious punishment" on them, reconnects Artegall with his earlier victory against Grantorto. Carried away with his success and pride, Artegall's inclination to pity, mercy, and more importantly, his potential to be

able to judge with equity, is entirely negated in this one passage. He becomes like Talus, and Artegall believes that after rescuing Irena, he must reform her island with the sword of "grievous punishment."

The bloodshed that would result from Artegall's sudden change at the end of Book V is prevented when he is recalled to Gloriana's court. For Andrew Hadfield, this move recalls the detrimental consequences of being merciful. The incident "links the demand for the execution of Mary to an effective policy in Ireland, representing the monarch as weak and feeble on each occasion, first in trying to prevent Mary's execution, and second in leaving Ireland exposed by recalling the successful hard-line Lord Deputy before his work is finished" (*A Life*, 195). This disruption is frequently read as Spenser's defense of Lord Grey. But it also calls attention to competing claims of authority, as to who gets to decide what justice entails or whether sheer military force is the way reform Ireland. Those questions are evoked, especially since the passage immediately follows Artegall's ordering to "inflict most grevious punishment" on Irena's foes:

> But ere he could reforme it thoroughly,
> He through occasion called was away,
> To Faerie Court, that of necessity
> His course of Justice he was forst to stay,
> And Talus to revoke from the right way,
> In which he was that Realme for to redress.
> But envies cloud still dimmeth vertues ray.
> So having freed Irena from distresse,
> He tooke his leave of her, there left in heavinesse. (xii.27.1-9)

There is no ambiguity that Artegall's work is interrupted but the issue of who determines what justice is and how it should be implemented are less clear. The ideas behind Artegall's "most grevious punishment" are expressed in Grey's complaint, when he was recalled from Ireland:

> But when before one halfe yeare fully expired your Majesty grieved with the warre by reason of the charge, beganne to thinck the tyme long, and to esteeme of no service, bycause all was not doen at once… and settled in the conceipt fell to temporizing and pardoning them, whome your warre had now brought to that exigent, as by thende of this winter of necessitie they must have famished, fought, or yielded to your mercye; here, with humbleness and all submission I speake it, was the overthrow of the service, and making vayne of all former cose and travayle. (McCabe *Monstrous* 89)

Grey complains that halting the scorched earth policy, aimed at starving the Irish to death, would disrupt the efficiency of the English reformation in Ireland. He promoted a strategy that had been used before by his predecessors. Famine was sometimes considered to be the most efficient and economical way to force the Irish rebels into submission. But the strategy is also reminiscent of Talus' version of justice: no distinctions are made between Irish rebels and innocent Irish bystanders. The absence of equity and mercy under these circumstances destroy the image of the English queen as a protector of her people, so too does Artegall's intention to reform Irena's island threaten to taint Gloriana's reputation, and in taking charge of the island, he undermines her authority as his superior.

Artegall is essentially a viceroy and he is subordinate to Astraea and Gloriana, but in his enthusiasm to reform Irena's island, Astraea's and Gloriana's authority over him is erased. He no longer represents their justice but rather "His course of Justice," which he was "forst to stay." To begin with, he was *never* asked to reform the island:

Wherefore the Lady, which Eirena hight,
Did to the Faery Queene her way addresse,
To whom complaining her afflicted plight,
She her besought of gratious redresse.
That soveraine Queene, that mightie Emperesse,
Whose glorie is to aide all suppliants pore,
And weake Princes to be Patronesse,
Chose Artegall to right her to restore;
For that to her he seem'd best skild in righteous lore. (i.4.1-9)

His commission is *only* to free Irena and to restore her to her rightful place. There are no instructions that Artegall should remain after he has done so, much less reform Irena's island or determine what justice entails after she is freed. Thus, in recalling Artegall, Gloriana places equity back in the picture, and in turn restores the queen's image as a merciful monarch. Royal authority is stabilized here, and mercy and equity proves superior to blind and rigid justice.

Artegall's plight at the end of Book V reinforces the thesis of this chapter, that Spenser's ideas of an absolute and unflinching justice are essentially untenable. Gloriana's recall of Artegall may have spared Irena's foes, but we do not know the consequences of such an action. If we can adopt Grey's sentiments that general pardons to the Irish rebels are unacceptable and dangerous, then Gloriana's action will have serious implications for Irena. This implicit pardon results in another injustice as it exposes Artegall to the Blatant Beast, and the hags, Envy and Detractor, each representing aspects of scandal, slander, and rumour, which Spenser attributes to the fall of Lord Grey in *A View*:

> like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her [Majesty's] subjects no more than dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left, but to raigne in their ashes; eare was soon lent thereunto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy; the noble Lord eft-soones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and new counsels plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon should be sent over to all that would accept of it, upon which all former purposes were blancked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which shee had before beene at quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore put back, and cleane frustrated (*View* 103).

When these comments are applied to the end of Canto 12, Gloriana's implicit mercy can be interpreted as a form of injustice to Artegall, because Spenser's narrator evokes an image of an ungrateful nation and an unappreciative queen. Spenser is sometimes suspected of misrepresenting Lord Grey in his portrayal of Artegall because Grey had repeatedly requested to be recalled throughout his term as lord deputy. From this, we realize that his recall should not be seen as punishment. A distinction must be made between requests for recall and orders for recall.

If a lord deputy returns to England because his request for recall has been granted, then authorities understand and agree with reasons that he cited to justify the termination of his service. But if he is recalled (without a request on his part), then his return is typically seen as a dishonorable discharge or punishment. After his recall, Grey's rivals were quick to justify their complaints against him, and others speculated about the reasons behind his recall: "A curious slander leveled against Grey soon after his service in Ireland (and little remarked by critics) explicitly mocks Grey for having followed the planter party into Ireland and done their dirty

work for them there" (Herron 192). Spenser represents these accusations as attacks of allegorical Envy and Detraction:

> Then th'other comming neare, gan him revile,
> And fouly rayle, with all she could invent;
> Saying, that he had with unmaly guile,
> And foule abusion both his honour blent,
> And that bright sword, the sword of Justice lent
> Had stayned with reprochfull crueltie,
> In guiltlesse blood of many an innocent:
> As for Grandtorto, him with treacherie
> And traynes having surpriz'd, he fouly did to die. (xii.40.1-9)

Spenser's narrator tries to depict Artegall as a victim of injustice in this passage, but he also unintentionally draws attention to the knight's failure. In Canto 1, when Astraea gives Artegall his sword, Chrysaor, the narrator's description of the sword is significant:

> For of most perfect metal it was made,
> Tempred with Adamant amongst the same,
> And garnish all with gold upon the blade
> In goodly wise, whereof it took his name,
> And was of no lesse virtue, then of fame.
> For there no substance was so firme and hard,
> But it would pierce or cleave, where so it came;
> Ne any armour could his dint out ward,
> But wheresoever it did light, it throughly shard. (i.10.1-9)

The terms "perfect," "adamant," "firme and hard," "thoroughly shard," describe how perfect justice ought to be implemented. But more troubling are Astrea's instructions that Artegall must also judge with equity and conscience; he must "When so it needs with rigour to dispence" punishment (i.7.5). Clearly, the description of the sword at the end of the Book V—"And that bright sword, the sword of Justice lent/ Had stayned with reprochfull crueltie,/ In guiltlesse blood of many an innocent"—tells us that Artegall has failed his mission: he pitied and showed mercy when he should not have done so and was brutal and ruthless when he ought to have shown compassion. A final example of this can be found in the closing stanza, when the Blatant Beast sets his hags on Artegall, and Talus tries to protect his master. The narrator says that Talus could have succeeded

> If her [the hags] Sir Artegall had not preserved,
> And him forbidden, who his heast observed.
> So much the more at him did she scold,
> And stones did cast, yet he for nought would swerve
> From his right course, but still the way did hold
> To Faery Court, where what him fell shall else be told (xii.43.4-9)

This final restraint allows the Blatant Beast to escape, and continues to plague the characters in Book VI.

The most pressing problem with Book V of *The Faerie Queene* is its inability to uphold its title: the "Legend of Justice" undercuts all notions of justice as stable, fair and unquestionable. The humiliation of Spenser's knight of justice at the end of the book signifies his failure at trying to come to grips with a workable idea of justice that has room for rigor *and* mercy. What Artegall does not understand is that justice and mercy cannot be implemented by

him alone, and that they are both linked to complex factors that may not be compatible with the rigors of law. Or more importantly, mercy and justice may not adhere to the needs of both conqueror and the conquered.[18] Ideally, the application of law and justice should be rigid and unbending, like Artegall's sword, so that all who are subjected to the laws are treated with equal fairness. But Spenser understands that this notion is not sustainable in Ireland. In the *A View*, Irenius claims that unlike the Norman conqueror, who could transfer his laws to England because he was "also present in person to overlooke the Magistrates, and to overawe these subjects with the terror of his sword [of justice] and countenance of his Majesty," the English could not simply transfer their laws to Ireland. That is because the Irish

> were otherwise affected, yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes (me seems) can ill fit with their disposition, or worke that reformation that is wished. For lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right, for then (as I said) in stead of a good they may worke ill, and pervert justice to extreame injustice. (*View* 20)

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[18] In *A View*, Irenius comments that unlike the Norman conquest of Britain, English laws cannot simply be imposed on Ireland: "for they [the Irish] were otherwise affected, and yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes (me seems) can ill fit with their disposition, or worke that reformation that is wished. For lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right, for then (as I said) in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert iustice to extreame injustice" (20). For a discussion of Irenius' comment and its limitations in the conquest of Ireland, see David J. Baker's " 'Some Quirk, Some Subtle Evasion': Legal Subversion in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*" (1986). Baker argues that Irenius' view of English Common Law—that it was imposed by William of Normandy—puts *A View* in opposition with prevailing ideas of Common Law as a system that had been in England since time immemorial; English authorities may have considered the work to be unsuitable for publication as because of this. An in-depth discussion on this subject can also be found in Bradin Cormack's *A Power to do Justice: Jurisdiction, English Literature, and the Rise of Common Law, 1509-1625* (2007), esp. his chapter entitled "Inconveniencing the Irish: Custom, Allegory, and the Common Law in Spenser's Ireland," 133-76. For a general discussion of the debates on common law in the early modern period, see J. G. A. Pocock's *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in Seventeenth Century* (1967).

The reform policies that Spenser advocate "the simple rule of right" in *A View* are brutal, but they are also informed by his imagination of the implementation of justice in Book V. Artegall's trials underscore the notion that justice in conquest is dependent on a whole array of conditions that cannot be controlled, and this reality is daunting and threatening to the colonial government. Calidore's lack of interest in hunting down the Blatant Beast in Book VI and his attraction to a pastoral life over a martial one is an experiment that imagines what it would be like if the beast is left to destroy civility.[19] The two books prompt readers to consider not only the difficulty of implementing justice but also the urgency of reform. By the end of Book V, "[Artegall's] realization that one can never discount arbitrariness in the natural order of things has started to lay the foundations of a workable polity. The untimely ending of his quest leaves Calidore with no chance to complete his own, because courtesy can have no effective significance as a virtue without the initial imposition of justice" (Hadfield *Irish Experience* 173). The "imposition of justice" became increasingly urgent as the Nine Years War wore on: the Artegalls and Calidores of the English state were forced to seek all means, including a re-formation of what they understood as justice, that would lead to one of the most unpopular and expensive English wars in the early modern period. Anti-war sentiment would become rife in England during the Nine Years War. The extensive corruption within the English army would create distrust between the queen and her military personnel, and the mismanagement of recruiting practices would exacerbate existing social problems in England. In her war with Ireland, England stood divided.

[19] For a discussion on the Blatant Beast's behavior, see Kenneth Gross's "Reflections on the Blatant Beast" (1999), and Thomas Herron's *Spenser's Irish Work: Poetry, Plantation and Colonial Reformation* (2007), esp. 185-224.

Chapter 4. "God be thanked for these rebels": Corruption and Military Discontent in the Nine Years War from *Richard II* to *Henry IV (I)*

Troops, arms, money, victuals, and munition, were sent from time to time into Ireland, and disappeared, as though in some Serbonian bog.[1]

Elizabeth's attitude towards the Irish conflict wavered between the sword and the word in the early 1590s, but the decision to embark on a military campaign that would bring the conflict to an end once and for all was triggered by the escalating violence in Ulster. The joint uprising of the two most prominent Irish Northern chieftains, Hugh O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill, eventually set England on a course of war. The magnitude of the Ulster rebellion was unlike any others in her reign. The charismatic O'Neill had formed a confederacy with many of the Irish chieftains, which also included prominent Old English officials from the Pale community. Flying the faith-and-fatherland flag, he promised to expel the Protestant English from the island and restore Catholicism in the country. This strategy proved successful beyond the Irish borders and won support from Scotch and Welsh quarters. O'Neill's confederacy was all the more frightening for English authorities because he had also secured support from Spain and Rome.

The combination of a pan-Celtic and Spanish-Roman alliance with the rebel forces would push England into a war that would drag on for almost a decade. By then, all discussion on the possibility of governing Ireland through assimilation, education, and mercy was entirely abandoned. In Elizabeth's instructions to the Earl of Ormond, the commander of the Irish forces,

[1] *CSPI* 1598-99/ix.

she explicitly ordered him to negotiate with the rebels only if they would submit with "bended knees, and harts humbled, not as if one Prince did treate with another upon tearmes of honour or advantage, in using words of Peace or war, but of Rebellion in them and mercy in us" lest the queen "appeare to the World that in such sort we will give way to any of their pride, wee will cast of ether sense or feeling of Pitty or Compassion." Ormond was to let the rebels know that the queen will, "upon what pruce soever [,] prosecute them to the last hower" should they refuse to yield to her authority (Kane 97). The queen's remark—that the rebels should beg for mercy—was misplaced for much of the long drawn-out war: the Irish forces were overwhelmingly more successful than the English, at least until 1601. The incompetence of the English officers and their soldiers would be repeatedly noted in the reports and correspondence that were sent from Ireland to the queen and her privy council in London. Her responses to these documents frequently expressed frustration and disbelief at the lack of progress on the part of the English army, especially since she was constantly pouring in vast amounts of money to pay for the seemingly endless war.

Elizabeth's anger calls attention to an aspect of the Nine Years War that has been largely neglected in studies that discuss the representations of English anxieties of the war on London stages: the corruption and mismanagement of the war within the colonial government and the army. Literary critics have noted the looming presence of Ireland in the 1590s history plays, dominated by Shakespeare's first and second tetralogies, and the writers' preoccupation with Irish affairs. Christopher Highley's *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Crisis in Ireland* (1997) considers an emerging discourse on Ireland that serves as a subtext in Shakespeare's works. He is concerned with the subject as "a problematic element in the imaginative formation of a national and poetic English self" (i). Mark Thorton Burnett's and Romana Wray's *Shakespeare*

and Ireland (1997) is a collection of essays dealing with issues of geography and border tensions, problems of defining colonial cultures, and the implications of editing and performing these representations. Stephen O'Neill's *Staging Ireland* (2007) is concerned with the place of Ireland in Renaissance drama in terms of locating nationhood, exile, and national identities. The underlying themes in these works seek to tease out the nuances and ambiguities that have come to define the Anglo-Irish conflict. The authors' focus on contending notions of cultural exigencies, political entities, and national identities provide original and valuable insight into the 1590s Irish crisis. Nonetheless, the lack of attention to the internal conflict within the English government has left a gap in this area of inquiry. Through a study of Shakespeare's *Richard II* and *Henry IV* (I), this chapter aims to address the gap in this field of scholarship by examining the failure of the English war office's attempts in raising and preparing a military force for a nearly decade long war on foreign soil. Within the context of the Irish war, the two plays stand out as a veiled criticism of the mismanagement of the war worsened by unprecedented corruption within English military operations.

Financing Conquest in Elizabethan Ireland

The economic demands of maintaining the Irish Pale had a longstanding history. Even before the wars, the council in Ireland consistently complained about the lack of funds. In a 1566 letter to her lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, Elizabeth expressed her disdain of and shock at a request for funds made in a previous letter:

> In which matter of fortification, by your letters you make mention of a very great some to be expendid in this present yere, if there be not in the writing some mistaking, as it may be, for fowre thousand pounds, which some we take for the maner of fortifications in those contrees very greate. And the rather for that we think the maner and ordre of that our realme, is by law or custome that our subjects shuld of their owne charges, fortiefy the townes, upon the frontiers for so have they usid to doo hitherto. (*Sidney State Papers* 17)[2]

After the collapse of the Kildare dynasty in 1534, the great charges incurred in the maintenance of a military force in Ireland became a growing concern for the English government. Throughout the sixteenth century, the Tudor monarchs' hesitance to embark on a complete conquest of Ireland stemmed largely from concerns about the financial burden that such expeditions would have on the English exchequer. Henry VIII's predecessors were content to leave the government of Ireland in the hands of his Old English lords. Despite their ancient feuds with each other, the earls of Ormond, Kildare, and Desmond were relatively effective at keeping peace in Ireland for two main reasons: their influence over vast areas of land and knowledge of the delicate Irish polity allowed them to negotiate with Irish rebels. More importantly for the English government, their large private armies were able to respond effectively on behalf of crown authority in times of rebellion. In other words, the financial burden lay largely on the shoulders of the Old English lords.

Government via the Old English lords worked well enough but this form of government became incompatible with the systematic reform of Ireland post Kildare. The maintenance of the private armies in Ireland depended on the ancient practice of "coign and livery." This system

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[2] Discussion of the queen's correspondence with Sidney can also be found in Chapter 4.

refers to the exactions that the lords imposed on local residents to support military operations. The amounts exacted varied in different parts of the country, and was often reported as a form of extortion by English authorities in the sixteenth century. In reality, the cause for concern has less to do with the extortion of the Irish people than with the anxieties that the private armies could turn against the English government. John Dymok's *A Treatice of Ireland* (1600) succinctly summarizes the English government's general view of coign and livery during Elizabeth's reign:

> The continuance of these and other Irish exactions is the very roote and fowndacion of the rebellions which have been from tyme to tyme in that country, both for that yt geveth a meane to the lord to mainteine so many idle persons in arms to attempt any villainy at his comaunde, and also for that yt draweth the obedience of the subiect from his prince, vnto the capten, and maketh the common sorte to stande in awe or know no other superiors then their Irish captaynes which thus exacte upon them.[3] (9)

When the Earl of Desmond was repeatedly ordered to put a halt to the practice in the 1570s, he insisted that "without coyne and livery he could not support adequate forces to maintain the Queen's laws or guarantee the safety of her subjects" (Berleth 69). The end of the Kildare and Desmond ascendancy, once held responsible for military action in Ireland, the abolition of coign and livery, and the permanent military presence in Elizabethan Ireland placed an unprecedented financial strain on the English exchequer. The council in Ireland was urged to find ways to foot the bill.

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[3] In spite of the overwhelming criticism of coign and livery, Elizabeth demonstrated a willingness to tolerate the practice with loyal subjects before the Nine Years War. She was clearly irritated by Sidney's repeated complaints of the Butler's defiance against orders to desist coigne and livery, and told him that he should refrain from insisting on the complete abolishment of the practice until rebellions were quelled (*Sidney Papers*; also in Canny's *Elizabethan Conquest* 56)

Aside from the private and later government sponsored plantation schemes which saw limited success, reform policies designed to have Ireland pay for its own defense in the latter half of the Elizabethan era came in two phases. Under Sussex's administration, "cess" was introduced. Cess was a form of purveyance imposed on the civilians, in which victual, accommodation, and transportation was levied for the English army. As a corrective form of purveyance against coign and livery, the amount levied was calculated at a fixed percentage of what was available in any given household. The Pale community was especially burdened with cess since they were the one of the few prosperous cities in Ireland. Naturally, those who made substantial contributions felt they were exploited for different reasons. When the lord deputy took his army with him on expeditions to quell rebellions elsewhere in the country, the Pale was left vulnerable to attacks and raids; in other words, they paid for protection but received none.

When Sidney took over Sussex's office, he proposed the abolition of cess in 1575 and its replacement by "composition," which was an annual tax imposed on the Pale community.[4] These reforms aimed to create a self-sufficient military force in Ireland. Sidney's financial reform programs were especially attractive to the English government: "Like a victualler bargaining for

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[4] Sidney's "composition" was opposed by the Palesmen who alleged that the tax was essentially illegal because it was not passed through parliament. Their complaints were interpreted as a challenge to the queen's royal prerogative. After an organized trip to court against the wishes of the lord deputy, a group of Palesmen—consisting of lawyers and members of the Privy Council of Ireland—was delegated to seek redress directly from the queen in London. Although the queen supported Sidney on the surface (she threw the Palesmen into prison briefly), he was reprimanded for causing the conflict and his ability to govern Ireland was severely undermined after the incident. The only sustained account of the episode is recorded in what is known as *The Book of Howth*, which can be found in the Carew Manuscripts. The work is commonly attributed to Christopher St. Lawrence (8th Baron of Howth), an Old English lawyer and member of the Privy Council of Ireland. It is believed that Howth led the delegation to London. His close association with Sidney's predecessor, the Earl of Sussex, raises suspicions of whether the incident was Sussex-supported. See *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved at Lambeth, Vol. 6*; Valerie McGowan-Doyle's "Fall of princes: Lydgate, Sir Henry Sidney and Tudor conquest in *The Book of Howth*" (2007), and *The Book of Howth: the Elizabethan re-conquest of Ireland and the Old English* (2011).

his [lord deputy] contract, Sidney promised Elizabeth to render Ireland totally self-sufficient within three years for a total of just £60,000 [£20,000/year]" (Brady *Chief Governors* 145). The proposed budget was a stark contrast to the amount spent in previous years and a welcome to the queen, who spent nearly £40,000 in 1571 on the maintenance of her forces in Ireland. Sidney's annual budget was a tremendous reduction when we consider the crown's expenses over a decade. Between 1568 and 1571, the crown had spent about £148,000 and was still £73,000 in debt. With the inclusion of the long deferred audit of Fitzwilliam's account, "the decade ending June 1569, the costs of administration had amounted to £348,000, almost 90 per cent of which had been met out of the English treasury" (136). In the closing years of his administration, it was apparent that Sidney's £20,00/year proposal had failed. By 1577, he "had exceeded his original costing by over £14,000 and was almost £9,000 in debt" (158). To say that the queen was displeased is an understatement.

***Richard II*: The Case of Missing Funds**

The first performance of *Richard II* in 1595 coincided with England's mounting war efforts in Ireland, and the first print edition of the play appeared in the same year that a truce was declared between England and Ireland in 1597. Beyond the play, the war was temporarily halted because of overwhelming losses on the English side; in the play, an English king suffers even heavier losses while he is off quelling rebellion in Ireland—he loses his crown, and later, his life—a heavy price for Irish conquest. Richard's Irish ambitions changed the course of English history, yet strangely enough, Ireland does not actually figure as a scene in *Richard II*: it is a

ghost country, merely referred to by characters. The king repeatedly declares that he "will make for Ireland" but 1) we never hear of him *in* Ireland, 2) there is no figure that represents the concreteness of Ireland (i.e. messengers, soldiers, rebels), and 3) his talk of Ireland goes only in one direction: he obsessively registers his intentions to go to there, but there is no indication of his being *in*, or, for that matter, returning from Ireland (I.iv.53, II.i.155, II.i.218). There is, in York's words, "no post dispatched to Ireland" to inform him of Bolingbroke's revolt because *there is no Ireland*.

The "absence" of Ireland in Shakespeare's plays has been a subject of particular interest to literary critics. For Andrew Hadfield, references to Ireland (direct and allegorical) are plentiful. However, they loom ominously in the background—as a threat to a troubled regime in the Henry VI plays through York's rebellion—or as forms of comic otherness that reassert Irish stereotypes, when characters like Frank Ford cynically comments on the danger of trusting an Irishman in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597) ("Shakespeare's 'British' Plays" 48). Hadfield believes that "Shakespeare's avoidance of *direct* treatment of Irish issues is more likely to be explained by reference to the restrictions that were placed on the stage representation of English history after June 1599" (52). The Bishops' Ban of 1599 was in part provoked by the earl of Essex's much anticipated and later, much lamented, expedition to quell the Ulster rebellion. England's ineffective policies made the Nine Years War so unpopular amongst the people that the government felt threatened enough to impose restrictions on the circulation and open discussions of the war. Francis Cordale's 1599 letter to Humphrey Galdelli, then in Venice, stated: "I can send no news of the Irish wars, all advertisements thence being prohibited, and such news as comes to Council carefully concealed. I fear our part has had little success, lost many captains and whole companies, and has little hopes of prevailing" (qtd. in Clare 116). The

attempt to limit and control the spread of bad news from Ireland announces the paranoia and the ultimate fear of the Elizabethan government: the sacrifices that England was made to suffer for the crown's stubborn insistence to fight a potentially doomed war may have tragic consequences.

Hadfield's explanation, however, focuses on the drama of the latter part of the Nine Years War, but the anxieties apparent in the late 1590s plays were really echoing some of the preoccupations with Ireland in the early phase of the war. Critics such as Andrew Murphy, Garret Sullivan, and Michael Neill have commented on Richard's expedition to an off-stage Ireland as an uneasy way of negotiating colonial space and limiting cultural threats. Stephen O'Neill's observation underscores these theories and highlights England's ambivalent attitude towards Ireland: "Simultaneously invisible and also in view, marginal but also symbolically central, Ireland occupies a curious position in *Richard II*… the text's double take registers conflicting Elizabethan desires towards Ireland: on the one hand, the desire to engage with and reform it; on the other, the desire to occlude it" (104). Though the attention to ambivalence and liminality in *Richard II* provide a framework that allows us to better understand the English government's stance on the re-conquest of Ireland, these notions, I suggest, were no longer sustainable by 1595, when the play was first performed on the London stage.

It was apparent that war with Ireland became imminent in the years preceding 1595 as negotiations between the northern chiefs and the Dublin council showed few signs of progress. Between 1593-94, O'Neill and O'Donnell were already preparing to represent the Irish confederates in pushing for the restoration of ancient patrimonies in the north. But their conditions were such that an agreement on the part of the queen would have resulted in her forfeiture of sovereignty in a fragmented Ulster. A complete re-conquest of Ireland would have been impossible. Even though both sides clung to thinning hopes of a compromise, it was clear

that by early 1594, William Cecil could not get the queen to agree on conducting further negotiations with the confederate leaders (Morgan *Tyrone's Rebellion* 178). O'Donnell's rejection of a pardon from the queen, O'Neill's role in the siege of the Blackwater fort in 1595, and his resumption of using his Irish name, "The O'Neill," pushed the queen into open warfare.[5] There was nothing ambivalent about the queen's approach towards Ireland from 1594. In preparation for war, the Dublin council was forced to solicit loans from the more affluent residents in Ireland. That the loans proved insufficient to pay for the war as early as 1594-95 was an unambiguous indication that the war would have to depend on the funds from the English exchequer: the queen balked at the "excessive greatness of her charge" (qtd. 179).

My study of *Richard II* in the following section is examined within the context of war and finance. I argue that the "absence" of Ireland, so frequently associated with the English government's "ambivalence" was in fact no longer tenable in 1595. Rather, the "invisible and also in view" Ireland in the play draws out the problem of war management on the part of the English government as a whole. The Dublin government suffered from a perpetual and ever growing deficit and constantly demanded funds from England to carry on with the war. Across the Irish sea, the queen and her privy council in England were no less frustrated as money was poured into Ireland and they saw little improvement in the conditions there. *Richard II* epitomizes the "fragmentation" of the English government over the Irish war. As noted above, in the play, Ireland is heard about but never staged. Richard's ambitious talks of his expedition

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[5] The use of "O'Neill" was outlawed with the attainder of Shane O'Neill. O'Neill's decision to abandon his anglicized title, the Earl of Tyrone, was a brazen defiance against English authority. In 1594, a contemporary source noted that "He has evermore had a thirsty desire to be called O'Neale—a name more in price to him than to be intituled Caesar" (*Carew MSS* Vol. 3 107). The refusal to recognize Elizabeth's sovereignty is often demonstrated in the rebels' acts of condemning English culture and customs through flaunting Irish ones. During the 1569 Butler Rebellion, one of Ormond's brothers reportedly rode out into battle in Irish war apparel.

show absolutely no progress despite his repeated references to accumulating funds (forcibly and illegally) for the Irish war.

With the levying of troops in London, it is very likely that the Elizabethan audience would have identified Richard's hopeless predicament with their own government's war efforts concerning war in Ireland. In the play, money is obtained but the war is nowhere to be seen; in Elizabethan England, the queen was incensed that money was sent from the exchequer, but the progression of the war did not seem to be in sight: the "vortex" and bottomless pit that was Ireland is epitomized in its "absence" in the play. This chapter will demonstrate that far from feeling ambivalent about war with Ireland, *Richard II* underscores the difficulties of financing the war in Ireland and brings to the foreground the intrinsic conflict between the ambitions and needs of the war party in Ireland and the resentment on the part of the English government to support those demands. Within a financial framework, this argument seeks to emphasize the distrust between queen and colonial government in the management of the war, and it also discusses the corruption and social problems that result from mismanagement.

In *Richard II*, the political status of England and Ireland are underscored in the play's reference to Calais, which serves as a powerful reminder of Elizabethan Ireland as the sole colony in the 1590s. In the opening quarrel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, the former is convinced that Mowbray is responsible for the murder of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, in Calais.[6] But the matter of the murder is not resolved, only deferred. The Duke of Lancaster's

[6] The event is dramatized in detail in the anonymous play, *Thomas of Woodstock*, or what is also commonly called *Richard II, Part I* (1592?). The dating of the play should not be taken for granted simply because it documents the events before Shakespeare's *Richard II*. It is next to impossible to determine the influences of *Woodstock* on Shakespeare's *Richard II*. The anonymous play is generally believed to be the source play for Shakespeare's *Richard II*—Andrew Gurr dates it to 1592-93—but others push for a post-*Richard II* date and posit a wider

death becomes the cause of conflict again towards the end of the play, when Bagot accuses Aumerle of his complicity in the crime: "I heard you say, 'Is not my arm of length,/ That reacheth from the restful English court/ As far as Callice to mine uncle's head?" (IV.i.11–13). Here, Calais is depicted as a place of stifled guilt, a place of chaos, and Shakespeare's preoccupation with the horrific event and its location, point to the two-fold implication of royal authority in foreign-held crown lands. The crown's ownership and control of one of the most important border towns in France suggest English superiority, but at the same time, the river that separates Gaunt's "scept'red isle" from her neighbors renders her citizens *blind*: the English murder is committed in an English-administered area that is essentially *on* foreign soil, away from the scrutiny of the English people and parliament.

Richard's long-distance government poses a number of problems that are intrinsic to colonial administration. When the play opens, Richard cannot decide if either Bolingbroke or Mowbray is telling the truth. When the play ends, the newly-crowned Bolingbroke finds himself in the exact same position because Mowbray, the only character that can verify the truth, has died in exile in a foreign land. It is impossible to separate truth from falsity when the abstraction of royal authority is estranged in Calais: the king can only *hear* about the problems overseas, but he cannot see or approach them unless he travels there. This problem is manifest in the Bolingbroke-Mowbray conflict. Though Bolingbroke accuses Mowbray of his involvement in Gloucester's murder, we must not lose sight of the fact that the murder is really evoked to "further… maintain/ Upon his bad life to make all this good"; in other words, to undermine

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range of dates (1604–10) (see *Richard II*, ed. Gurr 6, and Corbin 6). For title and date variants, see Corbin, 1–43.

Mowbray's loyalty to the crown (I. i. 98–00). When asked to state his grievance, Bolingbroke tells Richard:

> [He] hath received eight thousand nobles
> In name of lendings for your Highness' soldiers,
> The which he hath detained for lewd employments,
> Like a false traitor and injurious villain. (I.i.88–91)

Only from his response do we realize that Mowbray held the captaincy of Calais. He tries to explain the purported misuse of funds from the exchequer: "Three parts of that receipt I had for Calais/ Disbursed I duly to his Highness' soldiers" (126-27). Mowbray insists that he kept the rest the money "by consent" since the king is in his debt (128). By now, Bolingbroke's argument with Mowbray has called attention to the faults that are intrinsic to a government that lacks a functional system to govern long-distance. In the first case, no one was held accountable or punished for the murder of a prominent English noble; in the second, royal funds have apparently been paid to corrupt soldiers in Calais, thus giving the impression that money is used to maintain a seemingly lawless city.

In *Richard II*, the problems in Calais allude to those that the English government had to face in Elizabethan Ireland. The loss of Calais was commonly used as a reminder to urge Elizabeth into a full-fledged re-conquest of Ireland in the decades before the war. Sidney "declared to Cecil that if the queen did not provide for his government 'she will lose Ireland as her sister lost Calais' " (Maginn *William Cecil* 78). Later, the Lord Deputy William Fitzwilliam, "in a fit of pique, recommended that following an anticipated Spanish invasion of Ireland, England might abandon most of the kingdom and control the English Pale as it once controlled Calais" (78). Bolingbroke's complaints about the problems in Calais, of crimes unseen and

unpunished, are strikingly similar to those that the Elizabethan government was forced to face in managing Ireland, and this is especially true in terms of how money is spent. Bolingbroke's accusations against Mowbray tie together money and accountability together. Bolingbroke's irritation with Mowbray's supposed misappropriation of the funds that are lent to him reflects his perception of Richard's colonial government in Calais. Money was lent to maintain law and order in Calais, and in turn, Bolingbroke's uncle is murdered. The notion that the money is sent and that justice and order are nowhere to be found is mirrored in the English government's view of Ireland. Throughout her reign, Elizabeth was often troubled with her representatives in Ireland. She was well aware of the widespread mismanagement and corruption. But in spite of the attempts to audit the financial accounts in Ireland more frequently, the situation did not seem to change even after the war began. In 1596, the queen's anger at the rising war expenditures *and* the lack of progress on the part of the English army in Ireland was evident. In her letter to Lord Deputy William Russell and his council, she says:

> We command you (without faction or partiality amongst you) to unite yourselves in council, and to provide for the cure of the present diseases. Notwithstanding our infinite charges for the prosecution of those rebels, no sound remedies have followed, but still we see new erections of companies, new devices of charges, loose musters, and slack and cross counsels.[7] (*Carew MSS* Vol. 3 176)

The queen's irritation with "infinite charges" and lack of "sound remedies" was a standard response to the request for additional funds even during times of peace. Under these circumstances, the war placed a strain on the queen and her exchequer as never before. The

[7] The nature of this complaint will be fully discussed in the next section of this chapter, where I consider the corruption that provoked this comment.

conflict between the king and his nobles in *Richard II* consistently alludes to similar preoccupations.

The financial demands of Richard's medieval Irish war are repeatedly mentioned throughout the play; Shakespeare's intention must have been to emphasize the cost of the contemporary Irish war to the people and the state. Holinshed, Shakespeare's principal source, does not make this a theme of Richard's corruption and later, his deposition. But Shakespeare "creates" an Ireland that the king uses to rationalize his abuse of the nobility. Shakespeare justifies the exploitation of Bolingbroke's inheritance as a means to fund the war in Ireland. We are told that his royal treasury has "grown somewhat light," and consequently, he must take other measures to raise money for his Irish war:

> We are enforced to farm our royal realm,
> The revenue whereof to farm our royal realm,
> The revenue whereof shall furnish us
> For our affairs in hand. If that come short,
> Our substitutes at home shall have blank charters;
> Whereto, when they shall know what men are rich,
> And send them after to supply our wants,
> For we will make for Ireland presently. (I.iv.45–52)

Furthermore, he wishes Gaunt to die so that "the lining of his coffers shall make coats/ To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars" (61–62).[8] Though Bolingbroke's grievance appears

[8] The lack of proper apparel was a frequent complaint amongst the English captains and was generally attributed to delay of supplies from England, black market transactions, and the poverty of new recruits. Falstaff notes this in his soliloquy in *I Henry IV*: "There's not a shirt and a half in all my company, and the half-short is two napkins tacked together and thrown over the shoulders like a herald's coat without sleeves" (IV. ii. 42–45).

straightforward and effective in casting Richard as a tyrant, it proves to be problematic because it can be argued that Richard has rights to the Lancastrian lands.[9] Nonetheless, this did not give Richard the right to seize the Lancastrian inheritance without legal process. Richard's decision to deprive Bolingbroke of the right to sue suggests that there is already an agreement of the right of inheritance in place. Furthermore, Richard's insistence on taking the Lancastrian lands is a violation of that agreement. Bolingbroke's "letters patents" give him the right to sue for his livery, and he uses the king's issue of legitimacy and his obligation to honor legality to argue his cause: "If that my cousin king be King in England,/ It must be granted that I am Duke of Lancaster […]And therefore personally I lay my claim/ To my inheritance of free descent (II.iii.122–135). Richard refuses to recognize the claim and justifies his decision a second time:

> So much for that. Now for our Irish wars […]
>
> Towards our assistance we do seize to us
>
> The plate, coin, revenues, and movables
>
> Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possessed. (II.i.160–62)

Richard consistently links the confiscation of Bolingbroke's inheritance to his war in Ireland. At this juncture, the audience simply cannot ignore Shakespeare's commentary on Elizabeth's Irish war. Richard's corruption and his cruelty to the Lancaster family in the play are *entirely* rationalized by the "invisible" Irish war off-stage. This poses a problem in an early modern

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[9] In late medieval and early modern England, it was true that no one really "owned" the lands of England, and landlords merely held lands by various forms of tenure from the crown (Berg 230). Charters were assigned to the king's lords (for instance, Gaunt) who held the land for the king. Tenants-in-chief (whether by freehold or knight service) then leased the property to sub-tenants, sometimes at criminally exorbitant fees. What is important here is that freeholders were *not* the owners of their land; they were still subjected to royal governance to a large extent. In cases of treason, lands would be altogether seized. Depending on the ruling, future generations could be prevented from inheritance, as occurred in many "attainders" for treason that marked late medieval and early Tudor political life. The right of inheritance, though customary, was not a default feature of the grant (Scott 277).

context considering the efforts that the government put in place to raise money for the very real Irish war that was unfolding when *Richard II* was played on London stages.

The difficulties facing Elizabethan efforts to raise funds for the war in Ireland cannot be underestimated, for it was not simply a matter of reaching into the pockets of the queen's wealthier subjects. Even before the escalation of the war in the late 1590s, the government in England and Ireland scrambled to obtain financial resources even if loans and transactions were made at a loss. More than a thousand men were levied from Essex's command at Cadiz, and amidst all this, "when the quarto text of *Richard II* was printed, there were reports that 'great sums of money lately sent thither [to Ireland] for our army and garrison there have not sufficed to supply the wants of our said forces' " (O'Neill 108). The queen also reportedly sold some of her personal lands and jewels in hopes of relieving the financial burden on her subjects who "had granted her many subsidies and lent her great sums of money," but "the Irish campaign was spread well beyond the nation's wealthy elite" (Highley 64). There was little to no hope of raising funds in Ireland. A year before the war, Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam wrote to Burghley to request money for victuals; he noted, "the citizens here [in Ireland] are very hardly drawn to lend any" (*CSPI* 1592-96/129). His successor, William Russell, would write many more similar letters to the queen and her privy council. His desperation—"we know not where to borrow more, neither of the corporate towns nor amongst ourselves, who remain as yet unpaid of the last taxation"—would echo Sir Henry Wallop's plea to Burghley in 1595 when he reported that:

> a very small portion is left for all charges, ordinary and extraordinary, which when shall be issued as presently for necessary preparations against my Lord Deputy's now journey it will be, I know not what shift will be made: for we are utterly without expectation or hope of borrowing any great sum of money here" (*CSPI* 1592-96/377)

The hopelessness of financing the war from Ireland combined with the queen's refusal to compromise her sovereignty would drain the resources in England. Thus was the Irish war sustained by English funds, and from men who, like the queen herself, could not easily see what their money was being spent on: the "invisible" Ireland in *Richard II* is especially apt and must have resonated with London audiences. At the same time, it also dangerously raises questions about whether or not the queen had taken on an unnecessary enterprise at the expense of her English subjects.

The monarch's justification of war is a sensitive subject in *Richard* II, and the characters have differing views on how war can affect the country. Gaunt's oft-quoted speech warning of state mismanagement calls to task the monarch's culpability when he/she embarks on a war and turns the state into a "pelting farm." He associates war with the exploitation of the people:

> This royal throne of kings, this scept'red isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war […]
> This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land—
> Dear for her reputation through the world
> Is now leased out—I die pronouncing it—
> Like to a tenement or pelting farm. (II.i.40–60)

For Gaunt, the peace and fate of a country is linked to the land, and the land, in turn, is intimately linked to the king; he refers to England as a "nurse" to the "teeming womb of royal kings" (51). Gaunt is convinced that Richard's lease and exploitation of sacred, precious crown lands will put

England to shame. Yet, Richard has repeatedly emphasized that he is forced to farm the country to fund the Irish wars. R. W. Hoyle's *The Estates of the English Crown, 1558–1640* (1992) tells us that the sale of crown lands to fund wars was not uncommon in early modern England. The price of crown lands increased considerably during the inflationary period between the 1590s and 1600. They were not easily sold but Elizabeth's commissioners (or what Gaunt would call "farmers") were given instructions to fetch sometimes unreasonable prices for their sales (19–20).

Gaunt's speech must have unsettled audiences, especially since "[t]he need to converse and reorganize the crown lands was recognized by the end of Elizabeth's reign" (Hoyle 21). Judging by the debt from the Spanish war and complaints about backpay in the maintenance of Irish garrisons, England simply did not have the resources to embark on yet another war. The unpopularity of Elizabeth's Irish war is amplified when Ross nervously remarks: "[the king] hath not money for these Irish wars/ His burdenous taxations notwithstanding/ But by robbing the banished duke (II.i.255, 259–60). Willy Maley has noted that Elizabethan anxieties about the Irish problem are explicitly apparent in these lines: "Here we have all the elements of Shakespeare's Ireland, by turn a drain on resources, a convenient pretext for royal adventuring, an implicit critique of courtly excess, and a site of banishment and exile" ("Irish Text and Subtext" 102). The Elizabethan audiences were not allowed to let these issues disappear along the way. Even after repeated reminders of Richard's desire to go to Ireland, York reemphasizes the question of whether it is wise to do so: "How shall we do for money for these wars?" (II.ii.104). In linking Richard's downfall to his ambitions in Ireland, Shakespeare pressed his audiences to reconsider the implications of the Elizabethan Irish war, particularly the question of what the money from the exchequer and enforced loans were used for.

When Richard leaves for Ireland, he appears nowhere to be found. Green who brings news of Bolingbroke's revolt hopes "the King is not shipped for Ireland," but he arrives too late (II.i.42). York, in a panic, is shocked to discover that the absent king is not aware of the revolt. Finally, the Welsh troops who waited ten days to aid Richard's return to England, "hearing [he] wert dead,/ Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed and fled (III.ii.103, 74). Even though Richard is accused of courtly excess and partiality towards those whom he favors (but are corrupted), the proximate cause of his downfall is his desire to wage war in Ireland. Whether or not he is sincere about suppressing "those rough rug-headed kerns,/ Which live like venom where no venom else/ But only they have privilege to live" or whether he is merely using the Irish rebels as an excuse to extort the nobles is moot (II.i.156-58). What is more important is the way in which he rationalizes his actions and intentions before the audience. The play unambiguously links Richard's desire to confront the Irish rebels with his extortion of the nobles as he declares:

> And for these great affairs [of war in Ireland] do ask some charge,
> Towards our assistance we do seize to us
> The plate, corn, revenues and moveables,
> Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possessed (159-62)

For Ireland, he will banish and rob his most prominent nobles, and for that, he will be deposed while in Ireland. The chain of events provokes some controversial questions about the conditions in England while war rages in Ireland.

Indeed, there were other concerns aside from the Irish war that required attention in the 1590s. The aging queen adamantly refused to name an heir apparent, and tensions with Scotland began to rise as James VI waited impatiently for the English crown; the prospect of a leaderless realm in the midst of a seemingly doomed war frightened English citizens. The war years also

coincided with rising inflation: "The year 1596 was a disastrous one, with an average price of 83 percent above the norm for grain; there was panic legislation with widespread near starvation and a real threat of rebellion in many parts of England in 1597 and 1598" (McGurk 209). Many complained that the government did not do enough to stabilize grain prices: "with the expense of war and sudden price rise, the Queen was beginning to incur a debt that she would never pay off"—Ireland almost literally bankrupted England (Berg 231). The cost of maintaining English garrisons and administration in Ireland saw tremendous increases from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to the final years of war. In the late 1550s, the treasury spent about £50,000 a year on Ireland. This amount increased to about £160,000 a year in the 1590s. In 1601 alone, war expenses in Ireland amounted to £415,000. All in all, Elizabeth spent nearly £2 million on the Nine Years War (Cruickshank 283). In contrast, the two-year Spanish Armada cost the crown a fraction of this amount, totaling £250,000 (Mattingly 26). The maintenance of English garrisons in the Low Countries peaked at £175,000 after 1585. The Nine Years War was the most expensive war fought in the Elizabethan era, and it was, to a large degree, a huge gamble, prompting the second earl of Essex's servant to remark: "I pray to God we may return conquerors, for sure I am we shall return beggars" (Stone 456).

Even though open discussions on war policy were forbidden, the audiences of *Richard II* would have at the very least discerned Shakespeare's provocative commentary on how the war affected England. Traditional English views of Ireland also shaped the perceptions of the citizens. Recalling Sir John Davies' comment, "[Ireland is the] Land of Ire, because the Irascible power was predominant there," we are reminded of the many English treatises on Ireland that depict the country as a place where chaos reigned and war was rampant. These notions no doubt occasioned more anxieties among an English people who thought they could be fighting a losing

battle at the expense of their own welfare. Anxieties about the Irish war were compounded by widespread knowledge of uncontained corruption and the people's skepticism of the government's method in the handling of money matters contributed to the non-existence of Ireland in *Richard II*. In *Henry IV (I),* Shakespeare addresses the corruption within the English government, particularly among military officers, during the Nine Years War.

Henry IV (I): Funds Found and Lost (Again)

The cost of the Nine Years War discussed in the previous section gives us a glimpse of the burden that was placed on the English exchequer and the difficulties that the queen and her council had to face in dealing with ever increasing expenditures. From the financial point of view, Elizabethan Ireland bore a striking resemblance to the Ireland outlined in *Richard II*: the ordinary Englishman heard about it, was directly affected by it, but did not actually *see* it. Even in its early phases, the war drained the resources of the English state. The English citizens were exploited to finance the war; and finally, the money that was raised to support the troops seemed to evaporate without a trace. This section is concerned with the disappearance of funds sent to Ireland, the plight of the Elizabethan soldier, and the corruption of military culture that failed him and, in turn, the realm that he served. Shakespeare's *Henry IV (I)* expands on the financing of the Irish war. My discussion will not draw parallels between the two different periods or interpret *Henry IV (I)* as an allegorical commentary on the early modern Anglo-Irish conflict. However, it will focus on the plight of the soldiery and the practices of military recruitment in the play. My discussion demonstrates how these issues came to be shaped on the London stage

against the backdrop of the Irish war. I argue that the government's failure to accommodate the soldiery within the rigid English social structure its inability to control corruption of military practices reflected the distrust between the queen and her military personnel. Through a medieval lens, Shakespeare uses *Henry IV (I)* to articulate how these problems threatened to bankrupt the royal exchequer and further undermine public faith in the sustainability or the success of war in Ireland; they anticipate Sir George Carew's comment when he told Lord Mountjoy: "how fearful the name of Ireland is to pressed men in England" (McGurk 35).

During the sixteenth century, Henry VIII's reign was often taken as the apogee of martial achievement. The brief reigns of Edward VI and Mary were overshadowed by Henry VIII, who took great pride in his military abilities and was known to have surrounded himself with some of the best military commanders of the realm. In *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres, Called Churchyardes Choise* (1579), Thomas Churchyard, nostalgically recalls this bygone era, when

> All Cheualrie was cherished, Soldiours made of, and manhoode so muche esteemed, that he was thought happie and moste valiaunt, that sought credit by the exercises of Armes, and disscipline of warre. Whiche did so animate the noble mides of men, that in a nammer is was counted no bodie, that had not been knowen to be at some enterprice. And euery simple subiecte was given to the aduaunsement of his Countrey. As the burning of *Treporte*, the winnyng of *Tornay*, *Bullaine*, and sonderie other places dooeth manifestly declare. The iourneis into *Scotlande* and victories there, would wearie you to reade of, and beareth yet recorde, what greate honor was in our kyng, and courage in our people. (sig. A1v)

Churchyard's disappointment with the evolution of the chivalric and military culture in his time is icily expressed thus: "Souldiours in tymes paste haue been sette by, and dearely esteemed, and

presently in all places of the worlde embrased and made of" (95). "All places," that is, with the exception of England.

Churchyard's pessimism was registered in the proliferation of military treatises written between the 1570s and 90s, many of which expressed the belief that the lot of the early modern soldier had declined to the point of embarrassment. Like Churchyard, Barnabe Rich also laments that soldiers in Spain, Italy, and France were treated with the courtesy, generosity, and respect that befitted those who risked their lives to defend the nation. Lawyers, merchants, and the clergy, he claims, could not serve their princes as well as the common soldier (Rich *Allarme* 38-42). Geoffrey Gates expressed similar sentiments when he noted in *The Defence of Militarie Profession* (1579) that if England had any inkling of how her continental neighbors treated their military men, "then it should know the value of a soldier, and lick the dust off the feete of her men of prowess: then would the lawer and the marcheant humble themselves to warriers, and be glad to geve honour and salary to the martialist (18). The declining popularity of a martial life in late Elizabethan England was also reported by Sir William Segar, author of *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590); he is "more then halfe perswaded that a sort of our Gentlemen (chieflie those that haue had theur burture at home with their owne ignorant parents) doo take home more comfort to be called good Faulkners or expert Woodmen, the either skilfull Souldiers or learned Schollers" (64).

The military treatises generally attribute the decline of martial culture and society's distaste of the military profession of arms to a range of reasons. Female rule inevitably affected the male-dominated confines of court culture. In spite of all her efforts to assure her subjects that even though she had the body of a woman but the "heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England," she was, in all reality, a woman. Raymond B. Waddington's study on the celebration

of the feasts of the Order of the Garter under Elizabeth outlines the changing significance of the event. In Henry VIII's time, the rituals and ceremonies performed at the feasts were highly symbolic of "battlefield bonding among fighting knights" (109). Even though Elizabeth kept up with the traditional celebrations, she attended them in on her own terms. For instance, a contemporary noted that she refused to wear the whole Habit of the Order. This was merely one of a number of rituals that she did not adhere to, but "[m]ore precisely, she has remade the martial into a courtly Order; and, in the living theater of the Grand Procession… The deviance in dress, far from signifying lack of interest or nonchalance, was a calculated, overpowering spectacle of a great lady dressed as if for a court ball" (110).

The feminization of court culture combined with the unchallenged influence of the Cecils (especially after the death of Leicester in 1588) created an environment in the English court that was "split" into two parties, one of the "sword" and another of the "pen." Lord Burghley's attitude towards the profession of the soldier is indicated in his instruction to his son. He advised his son against training his grandchildren for wars, for

> He that sets up his rest only to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian, for war is of itself unjust unless the good cause may make it just. Besides it is a science no longer in request than [its] use for soldiers in peace are like chimneys in the summer. (Rapple *Martial Power* 19)[10]

[10] On Burghley's purported distaste for military men (popularized by Spenser's "Mother Hubbard's Tale" and the Proem in Book IV of the *Faerie Queene*), see Bruce Danner's *Edmund Spenser's War on Lord Burghley* (2011), and Rory Rapple's *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594,* esp. 19-50. For Burghley's perception of public service and the humanist influences that shaped them, see Mary Partridge's "Lord Burghley and *il Cortegiano*: Civil and Martial Models of Courtliness in Elizabethan England" (2009). Christopher Maginn's *William Cecil, Ireland, and the Tudor State* (2012) provides an especially insightful overview of how he managed the exigencies of funding the re-

Burghley's prejudice, that the soldier cannot be "an honest man" or "a good Christian," was common among the English. His comment that "soldiers in peace are like chimneys in the summer" is of more interest because it calls attention to the social status of the soldier when he is not at war. Barnabe Rich brings up this issue but his consideration differs from Burghley in that he expresses frustration at England's lack of appreciation for the sacrifices that the soldier makes to serve his country:

> But the warres being once finished, & that there is no neede of them, howe be they rewarded, howe be they cherished, what accounte is there made of them, what other thing gaine they then slaunder, misreporte, false impositions, hatred and despight?... There be some that haue serued twentie or thirtie yeares as occasions haue happened, & in the warres haue spent part of their bloud, and receiued many greeuous woundes, but their estate of liuing, I woulde to God were knowne to those that might amend it. (*Allarme* 52)

Rich registers the widespread prejudice against the idle soldier and shames the likes of Burghley. What is more immediate here, however, is that the two men clearly acknowledge and understand that the soldier who is not actually at war is dangerously caught in a social space that neither recognizes or accommodates his presence. This condition is dramatized in *Henry IV (I)*. Of the plays in Shakespeare's second tetralogy, the plight of the soldier is most explicitly demonstrated in the dialogue between Henry V and the English captain, Williams, in *Henry V*. However, it would have been unlikely that the king-and-soldier exchange could have been written with such sophistication and delicate nuances if not for the soldiers in *Henry IV (I)*, who provide a sketch of the unemployed soldier in early modern England.

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conquest of Ireland both as patron to his clients in Ireland and as lord treasurer to the queen; see his chapters on "Government and Policy" and "Money," 78-141.

To sketch the outline of the idle soldier in *Henry IV (I)*, we must keep in mind that the relationship between Hal and Falstaff is not merely one of prince and subject, but future king and out-of-commission soldier. Our modern fascination with Falstaff as the lord of misrule and the central comic character in the play has often led us to overlook the fact that in spite of his belly and cowardice, he is a martial man. J. Dover Wilson noted that this aspect of Falstaff's identity would not, however, have been lost on Elizabethan audiences: "there was plenty of fighting during her reign in Ireland and, of an unofficial character, on the continent; and the London which first saw Falstaff on stage was full of soldiers, old and young" (82). Maurice Morgann's defense of Falstaff reminds readers that "Falstaff had a double character; he was a *wit* as well as *soldier*," and that he was a seasoned "old soldier" (101, 100). In this context, the ties between king (or future king in this case) and soldier was far more delicate than that of prince and subject; the soldier's fate was intrinsically tied to the king's domestic and foreign ambitions. The soldier was *paid* to follow the king's whims and if he wished to retain employment as such, he must carry out the king's orders. This reciprocity breaks down when the soldier challenges his obligations to the king. In *Henry V*, Williams disrupts this structure when he questions the ethical implications of Henry's war: the disguised king tells him that it is "not meet" that commanders should tell their kings of their personal views of the war, even if he does not believe in it (IV.i.102). If he is paid, then he must simply follow orders, whether or not he thinks the war is just.[11] The economic nature of the king-and-soldier relationship is evident in a different form in the opening act of *Henry IV* (I).

The madcap dialogue between Hal and Falstaff sets the tone that characterizes their relationship as one that is characterized by economic transactions. Falstaff's casual remark about

[11] For a general discussion on the king's debate with Williams and Bates, see Jonathan Hart's *Theater and the World* (1992), esp. 190-99.

the tavern hostess, for being "a most sweet wench," bores Hal and leads him to ask what that has to do with him:

> Falstaff. Well, thou hast called her to a reckoning many a time and oft.
>
> Prince. Did I ever call for thee to pay thy part?
>
> Falstaff. No; I'll give thee thy due, thou has paid all there.
>
> Prince. Yea, and elsewhere so far as my coin would stretch; and where it would not, I have used my credit. (I.ii.51-58)

Their language is immersed in credit and thievery; Falstaff tells Hal that when he becomes king that he must not "hang a thief," and even though Hal engages with the entertainment that Falstaff takes in stealing from others: "As, for proof now: a purse of fold most resolutely snatched on Monday night and most dissolutely spent on Tuesday morning; got with swearing 'Lay by,' and spent with crying 'Bring in" (I.ii.34-38). "Lay by" and "Bring in" are terms associated with highway robbery, the former a command to his victim and the latter in reference to the barman at the tavern where he will spend his money. The highway robbery that takes place shortly after is perhaps not the first one for Falstaff, and when Hal asks where they should conduct the robbery and sarcastically condemns it in the same breath, Falstaff exclaims: "Why, Hal, 'tis my vocation, Hal. 'Tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation" (I.ii.108-109). Here, his profession as soldier (at peace time) is conflated with his vocation as a robber.[12]

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[12] In the *OED*, "vocation" is used in early modern works to describe "[t]he action on the part of God of calling a person to exercise some special function, especially of a spiritual nature, or to fill a certain position; divine influence or guidance towards a definite (esp. religious) career; the fact of being so called or directed towards a special work in life; natural tendency to, or fitness for, such work." It is also commonly used to describe a person's "ordinary occupation, business, or profession." In the figure of Falstaff, Shakespeare invented a character that is entirely in line with contemporary prejudices. Falstaff embodies Burghley's views of military men as dishonest and unchristian-like.

Falstaff's role as soldier-robber underscores a number of social and economic problems that were prevalent in London in the late sixteenth century, and the crown's responsibility for soldiers became more pressing with the Irish war. The first problem had to do with the crown's support of soldiers who were not at war. Barnabe Googe laments the lot of the soldier's return from war in his preface to Rich's *Allarme to England*; he uses the historical Henry V to demonstrate the injustice that soldiers had to endure even after the victory at Agincourt: "returning to their country, [his soldiers] were pitifully constrained (& which was in deede most miserable) in their olde and honourable age for want and necessitie to begge, whyle a great number of vnworthie wretches that lyued at home, enjoyed all kinds of felicities" (8). Shakespeare's young Henry V, however, repeatedly pays for Falstaff. At the end of the second act, Hal repays the money that Falstaff robbed and clears the outstanding bill for a list of items on a receipt of his pocket. As future king, Hal's gestures indicate the crown's willingness to care for the soldier in peacetime, but this was not the case in Shakespeare's England. When the Elizabethan soldier was not at war, he was hardly able to support himself: "accumulated wages might occasionally enrich them, but the funds for full payment were often unavailable; while 75 per cent payment was probably typical, as little as 30 percent might be granted, and costs for maintenance (whether or not food had been provided) might be deducted" (Salamon 273). The impoverished soldier was vagabond during times of peace.

Linda Bradley Salamon's typology of the early modern "vagabond veteran" attributes the soldier's financial state with the construction of the vagabond soldier in sixteenth-century pamphlets. However, she does not take into account the more intricate and ambivalent relationship between king and soldier that led to these views. She notes that when the early modern soldier is not at war and has had no further orders from his captain or commander, he

was deemed to be "located between the ordered worlds of military camp and home place, between violent action and uncertain reintegration" (265). This characterization of the vagabond soldier reflects England's wider social anxieties concerning so-called masterless men. Falstaff is an important character in this study precisely because he defies simplistic assumptions about the vagabond soldier. Like the pamphlets that she studies, Salamon believes that soldiers became vagabonds because they lacked financial means. In *Henry IV (I)*, we know that Falstaff aligns with this assumption because he is portrayed as one who is perpetually in debt (and we know this from Mistress Quickly's complaints of his late or non-payment at her tavern). What is of more interest is this: the prince pays off his debts and yet he does not refrain from highway robbery. As king-to-be, Hal's payment of Falstaff's debt is essentially the state's payment for its soldiers. The robbery on Gadshill is yet another "withdrawal" from the royal treasury:

> Bardolph. Case ye, case ye! On with your vizards! There's money of the King's coming down the hill; 'tis going to the King's exchequer.
>
> Falstaff. You lie, ye rogue! 'Tis going to the King's tavern.
>
> Gadshill. There's enough to make us all—
>
> Falstaff. To be hanged. (II.ii.52)

Bardolph and Falstaff, both soldiers, decide to rob anyway. The episode is comical, though William Leahy has noted in his study of the Shakespearean soldier that comical elements or references can be read as a form of "carnivalesque inversion [that] foresees freedom and liberty, and sufficient means to live" (Leahy 126). It is no coincidence that the robbery is not directed at traveling merchants but the king.

If comical elements are "carnivalesque inversion[s]" of oppressive states, then it becomes apparent that the men's freedom and liberty are purchased at the king's expense. Alongside Hal's

payment of Falstaff's debts, the robbery unambiguously underscores the notion that the soldiers are draining the financial resources of the state. This idea is emphasized again when Hal returns the money to where it belongs:

> Falstaff. O, I do not like that paying back; 'tis a double labour.
>
> Prince. I am good friends with my father and may do anything.
>
> Falstaff. Rob me the exchequer the first thing thou doest, and do it with unwashed hands too.
>
> Bardolph. Do my lord. (III. iii. 189-91)

In his creation of Falstaff, Shakespeare creates a character that is preoccupied with robbing the exchequer. Falstaff's covetousness for the king's coffers can be interpreted as a response to the complaints of ungratefulness and the state's refusal to reward soldiers according to their dues; it is, to some degree, vengeance on the state. This discontent is ironically developed immediately after Bardolph voices his agreement with Falstaff:

> Prince. I have procured thee, Jack, a charge of foot
>
> Falstaff. I would it had been of horse. Where shall I find one that can steal well? O for a fine thief, of the age of two and twenty or thereabouts! I am heinously unprovided. Well, God be thanked for these rebels, they offend none but the virtuous: I laud them, I praise them. (III.iii.192-98)

In peacetime, the vagabond veteran Falstaff depends on the prince's goodwill and fantasizes about robbing the exchequer. With "a charge of foot," his fantasy will become reality. For the soldier, war is wealth for all but the virtuous, and as the antithesis of virtue and honor, Falstaff stands to gain from the rebels. On the 1596 Elizabethan stage, he represented the root of military corruption and disorganization against the backdrop of an ongoing Irish war.

The financial problems that the military had to face in Elizabeth's Irish war were unlike those of historical wars fought before her time, or for that matter, those that that were conducted in the Low Countries and France. In the medieval era (when the peerage was obligated to participate in the king's wars), martial men were keen to join the bands led by aristocratic commanders in hopes of returning to England with riches from loot and ransom. In the Elizabethan era, wars became less profitable for officers and soldiers because of changing practices in raising and supporting the army. Lawrence Stone has noted that the 1596 Cadiz expedition was really the only foreign conflict that brought home rich stores of loot and ransom. By contrast, "no ransoms could be expected from kerns and gallowglasses running wild in the bogs of Ireland —the English took to headhunting instead—no rich booty in the long defensive campaigns in Flanders or in scrambling about the wet and barren rocks of Brittany" (457). The lack of treasure or ransom from the Irish war pushed soldiers to resort to other means to obtain wealth.

Of those who had the most capacity to appropriate funds in Ireland, the war administrators and higher officials had most to gain. Sir William Russell served as lord deputy in the early phase of the war, and within a brief period of his 3-year term (1594-97), he was reported to have returned to England "very fat… both in body and purse" (Chamberlain 2). On both sides of the Irish sea, Sir William Fitzwilliam's notoriety for corruption was well known, and it was common knowledge that "Never a man went from Ireland of his calling with more money and less love," and Sir George Carew was later discovered to have amassed 150,000 during his 7-year term as treasurer of war. Lord Deputy Mountjoy did not suffer from charges of corruption probably because he was credited with bringing the war to and an end; nonetheless,

"he complained to Cecil that he was likely to return from Ireland a beggar" (McGurk 19).[13] The kerns, woods, and bogs saw that the vast amounts of funds from England were mismanaged at an upper level (among the lord deputies, treasurers, and their administrative officers). But the corruption also appeared more concentrated at these levels because investigations could focus on a single individual whereas at the lower rung, the mismanagement of funds was so widespread that efforts to contain corruption was next to impossible.

Attempts to reform the mismanagement of funds coming from the royal exchequer had been a consistent problem for the English government as the queen's administrators in England and Ireland were constantly pressed to account for where the money from the exchequer had gone. Responding to the queen's anger, the government tried to monitor war expenditures more closely. Over the 1570s and 80s, Burghley became directly involved in drafting and demanding detailed reports of military expenses but these efforts did little to discourage corruption, as became apparent when war began in the 1590s.[14] Unlike lord deputies or treasurers of wars who had direct access to the funds transported from England, junior officers and captains made handsome profits through indirect channels. One of the most popular ways of doing so is dramatized in *Henry IV (I)* when Falstaff goes on a mission to recruit soldiers for the war:

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[13] The extent of Fitzwilliam's corruption is exposed in Thomas Lee's treatises on Ireland, most particularly in *A Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland* (1594) and *The Discovery and Recovery of Ireland with the Author's Apology* (ca. 1598-1600). Lee's accusations, however, must be taken with a grain of salt. Lee was known for double-dealing; he served as the queen's representative (under the Lord Deputy's command), and also negotiated on behalf of the Irish rebels, including Hugh O'Neill. Marcus Gheeraerts II's famous portrait of Lee, "Portrait of Captain Thomas Lee (1594)," has been of interest to artists and historians for its depiction of English-Irish identity. In the painting, Lee is dressed in the Irish soldier's apparel, which was outlawed in Ireland. A detailed discussion of Lee's status can be found in Hiram Morgan's "Tom Lee: the Posing Peacemaker" (1993). Also see J. P. Meyers' "Early English Colonial Experiences in Ireland: Captain Thomas Lee and Sir John Davies" (1988), and Ian Leask's "Sex on (Bare) Legs? Thomas Lee and 'Irishness' " (2010).

[14] An overview of these proposals can be found in Christopher Maginn's *William Cecil, Ireland, and the Tudor State* (2012), 119-20.

> I pressed me none but such toasts-and-butter, with hearts in their bellies no bigger than pins' heads, and they have bought out their services; and now my whole charge consists of ancients, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies—slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth… discarded unjust serving-men, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters, and ostlers trade-fall'n; the cankers of a calm world and a long peace; ten times more dishonorable ragged than an old fazed ancient… No eye hath seen such scarecrows… for indeed I had the most of them out of prison. (IV.ii.20-36)

Falstaff's long soliloquy would not have been lost on early modern audience members, who would have heard about the impressment of soldiers for Ireland; London saw the heaviest impressment for the Irish war. Falstaff's speech would have called attention to widespread criticism of the captains' corrupt practices and the ways in which the impoverished commoners were dragged into the army, unlike the "good householders, yeomen's sons [and] contracted bachelors" who were able to buy their way out of impressment (IV.ii.15-16). The extent to which this played out in the Irish war cannot be underestimated as reports and news that flooded into London from Ireland exposed not only the corruption of the captains but how their practices threatened the entire military operation.

The mustering and payment of soldiers were especially prone to abuse throughout the war and the government's inability to control the corruption drained the exchequer: funds were sent to Ireland, but as with Richard II's campaign two centuries previously, there seemed to be no progression in the war. Just as Falstaff is not deterred by the prospect of a death sentence if caught robbing the King's treasure on Gadshill, he is "not ashamed of [his] soldiers," or that he has "misused the King's press damnably" (IV.ii.11-12). Falstaff is the epitome of the whole class of army officials who pocketed the funds from the exchequer for private profits. War profiteering

in the Irish war was widespread at all levels, even in the first phases of recruitment. Captains were responsible for finding able-bodied men from the appropriate shires, and like Falstaff, those who were able to bribe them to their satisfaction were discharged from service (McGurk 34). Another practice that was common amongst the captains in Ireland was the arrangements they made with the army clerk. The captains appropriated funds that were assigned to soldiers who were either not on the muster list or had deserted; their salaries continued to be sent from England because their names remained on the muster list. In other cases, when checks were carried out to ascertain the number of men in a band, the missing names would be given to men borrowed from other companies.[15] The persistent complaints that flooded back to the Privy Council from Ireland demonstrated that efforts to clamp down on corruption among the captains proved futile. The corrupted officers and administrators established an efficient and intricate network of minor officials and private army contractors that resisted interferences from those that threatened war profiteering.[16]

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[15] In the early years of the war, the government indicated displeasure at the muster books which were "always very generallie and uncertainlie." Discrepancies in the books were common. For instance, Sir Ralph Lane's books showed that there were 8000 men on payroll, but it was discovered (by Lord Deputy Russell) that there were in fact only nearly 5000 men on the field (McGurk 69). In 1598-99, Sir Geoffrey Fenton reported to Cecil "a strange difference between the numbers extant and the persons standing in the list, the one being above 14,000, and the other scarce 10,000; whereby Her Majesty is charged in her pay with 14,000 and upward, and hath to answer her service in the field not fully 10,000," and that the queen appeared to be paying for 10,000 men but in reality, only "4,000 or 5,000, which stand in list, for whom Her Majesty ought not to be charged with any pay, considering they are not persons serviceable" (C*SPI* 1598-99/1120).

[16] Muster masters gave accounts of the difficulties they faced when they were overly enthusiastic about controlling corruption and trimming crown expenses. There was no doubt that the position was not one for the faint of heart. Humphrey Covert, muster master at the Derry garrisons, reported: "The captains are most violently bent against my proceedings in the musters and daily myself and such as I use in this employment, are boldly threatened to have our throats cut" (McGurk 196). His successor, Anthony Reynolds, tried to "outwit the captains in their frauds" but his efforts not only failed but backfired when the captains conspired to have him arrested for an illicit affair with the preacher's maid. His bi-monthly audits of the muster rolls came to an end

The correspondence between Sir Ralph Lane, muster master general during the war, and the English Privy Council demonstrated that there were genuine attempts to reform the "gross abuse" of the muster system in the years that preceded and led to the war. Lane assured the government that he was doing everything in his power "to make it not only difficult, but also impossible for a clerk of any band, upon whose sole oath depends at this day the knowledge of the muster-master of the strength and weakness of every band, to 'deliver false musters' without being discovered" (*CSPI* 1592-96/187).[17] Corrupt military captains were often considered to be especially dangerous because they functioned as the "linchpin" between the government and the soldiers. Military theorist Gyles Clayton noted in his war manual, *The Approved Order of Martial Discipline* (1591), that the captain's position was one of immense importance as lives depended on his "skill and knowledge" and as such, he ought to be "chosen for his owne worthiness of seruice and not for fauour" (19). Others like Matthew Sutcliffe, who wrote *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes* (1593), also called attention to the mismanagement of army funds in recruitment campaigns. He commented that captains must be closely supervised

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immediately after this. When Maurice Kyffin (sent to assist Sir Ralph Lane to reform the muster practices) warned officers that they could be hanged for corruption, they simply laughed at him; soldiers were also reluctant to report their captains' offences to them because they were afraid that they would hanged "as mutineers the moment the muster-master's back was turned" (Cruickshank 141). For similar instances reported in the Low Countries, see C. G. Cruickshank's *Elizabeth's Army* (1966), esp. 136-40.

[17] Lane's difficulty in keeping up this optimism quickly became evident when he told the queen that "Monthly musters [were] otherwise impossible, the garrisons being dispersed in various parts, and some in rote places, inaccessible without convoys," and that there were simply not enough commissaries to effectively put the muster reforms into place" (*CSPI* 515/1596-97). Maurice Kyffin's report to Burghley is undoubtedly the most important piece of document that describes the conditions in Ireland, which he found "so unspeakable as will scarce be believed." He noted: "The gross ignorance and shameful corruption in the officers of musters so long continues, together with the infinite and inveterate art of falsehood here practiced (and as it were authorized by general custom), has irrecuperably damnified this State." Furthermore, he commented that "There can be no company be mustered, either in camp or garrison, but an incredible number of hired and suborned passevolants of the inhabitants thereabouts, mingled with the rest, do ordinarily appear, and answer by wrong names" (*CSPI* 1596-97/551-52).

if a strong army is to be raised, as they were in Roman times when "Generals either present themselves at the musters or else did they employ men of knowledge, gravitie, and honesty… When disorder grew great. They forbade by expresse lawe, all men to take money, eyther for a choosing, or dismissing of soldiers" (63-64). These war treatises reflected the problems that the English government faced in recruiting men who were suitable to enlist.

The bribery that was so prevalent during recruitment campaigns undermined all attempts to impress able-bodied men for the Irish war. The rush to raise armies from England continues in 1596. On the London stage, Shakespeare dramatizes the difficulties in recruiting men for a medieval war that also targeted unruly subjects and rebels from England's borderlands. Hal's and Westmoreland's response to Falstaff at the sight of his new soldiers is telling:

> Prince. I did never see such pitiful rascals.
>
> Falstaff. Tut, tut, good enough to toss; food for powder, food for powder, they'll fill a pit as well as better. Tush, man, mortal men, mortal men.
>
> Westmoreland. Ay, but, Sir John, me thinks they are exceeding poor and bare, too beggarly. (IV.ii.65-70)

Sutcliffe's recommendation for recruitment ("Generals either present themselves at the musters or else did they employ men of knowledge") clearly makes no difference in this case. In reality, generals and commanders typically did not have the opportunity to supervise at the recruitment level, but in this scene, Hal and Westmoreland *are* generals. Falstaff claims that he has nothing to do with the poor quality of the soldiers (which he clearly does). To make matters worse, Hal makes no attempts to resolve the problem: "But sirrah, make haste. Percy is already in the field" (IV.ii.75-76). Because of the urgency of the want of men, there is simply no opportunity for Hal to address the problem or to disband the group of men and recruit another. The vagrants and

vagabonds that make up the band of soldiers in the play reflect social problems that stemmed from army recruitment during the Elizabethan Irish war

Falstaff's attitude towards the newly recruited soldiers and Hal's acceptance of the men expose one of the most pressing social problems in 1590s England. Arthur Efron's anarchist reading of the play holds Falstaff morally responsible for the exploitation of human lives; he argues that "if there were any integrity in the State, any honor, Falstaff would be and should be banished forthwith, and told to get his ragtag column of men off the road" (40). But if Shakespeare had done so, he would be "muffling" (Efron's term) the injustice of the reality as opposed to "the fatal irresponsibility" of the state. Hal's lack of interest in the welfare of Falstaff's soldiers is really an unblinking representation of the soldier's lot in England, when the government issued multiple proclamations that attempted to "control" vagabondage.[18] In fact, the abuses of recruitment seemed to go hand in hand with the "social cleansing" as the government tried to rid vagabonds and vagrants by sending them off to war. Paul Jorgensen notes that even anti-war sentiments did little to discourage such practices: "Elizabeth's council candidly viewed conscription as a means of removing economic misfits, those 'having no meanes to maintaine themselves but by stealinge and lewde practize,' whose absence will be 'a great ease and good to the country' " ("Theoretical Views" 476). Documents that survived from the Irish war prove that

[18] Arthur Kinney's *Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars* (2nd ed., 1990) provides a survey of cony-catching pamphlets between 1559 and 1598 and discusses the government's attempts to regulate vagabondage; a selection of pamphlets can also be found in A. V. Judges' *In The Elizabethan Underworld* (2nd ed., 1964). For statutes and proclamations against vagrancy, see Paul Hughes' and James Larkin's *Tudor Royal Proclamation* (1969), esp. in vol. 3, 762 and 779. On the economic implications that attempted to outlaw vagabondage, see P. A. Slack's "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England 1598" (1974). Linda Woodbridge's *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English Renaissance* Literature (2001), especially her chapter on *King Lear*, pertains to the discussion in this chapter: Goneril's dismissal of Lear's knights and her perceptions of their "riotous" behavior and "disorder" reflect contemporary prejudice against unemployed soldiers.

war efforts in Ireland were seriously undermined by the quality of soldiers transported from England.[19]

The government's failure (or refusal) to address social problems created by soldiers and the implications for the Irish war suggest that it was more concerned about sending bodies than soldiers to Ireland. Commissioners from Bristol who supervised the transportation of new recruits to Ireland reported to the Privy Council:

> There was never beheld such strange creatures brought to any muster… they are most of them either lame, diseased, boys, or common rogues. Few of them have any clothes; small weak starved bodies taken up in fairs, markets and highways to supply the places of better men kept at home. (McGurk 33)

One of the commissioners (Sir Edward Wingfield) thought he would have liked to paint a picture of these "creatures" for Sir Robert Cecil, whom he guessed would be appalled to discover "how it was possible to find in England and Wales 'so many strange and decrepit people except they had been kept in hospitals' "(33). Falstaff's men are not unlike those that were impressed for Elizabeth's Irish war. England swept away her misfits at the expense of her armies in Ireland. The justification of sending such men to the Irish war was three-fold: it responded to the constant and urgent need for soldiers in Ireland, it also removed crimes from the streets, and it put the idle "masterless men" to good use; they have gone from being idle to serving the state. The fact that they could not do so properly further drained resources from the exchequer: those who died were replaced by men who were equally unfit for service.

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[19] Patricia Cahill considers the recruitment practices in the late 1500s—marked by coercion and exploitation—to be an assertion and demonstration of state power. An especially telling instance of this can be traced to the Privy Council's 1595 order "demanding that London's vagrants be rounded up for service under Sir Francis Vere in the Low Countries or the emergency levy for the Calais expedition of 1596, which was carried out partly by locking churchgoers inside a London church on Easter Sunday" (77).

Shakespeare's portrayal of Falstaff as an army captain exposes the plight of the English soldier in the 1590s. But even as *Henry IV (I)* mulls over the pessimistic aspects of the economic and social impact of war, it redeems the lot of the soldier through the very character that corrupts all sense of honesty and honor. Falstaff's behavior at Shrewsbury has been a subject of interest and heated debate.[20] However, it has not been examined within the context of his earlier attitude towards the soldiers he recruited. There is no argument about his abuse of the king's press: he has no remorse about pocketing royal funds for private gains, or for recruiting inept men at the expense of the army. Critics such as Efron argue that Falstaff has no regard for human life, but this interpretation becomes more problematic when we discover that he does indeed consider human life, even if only his own, to be precious beyond all sense of chivalry and honor.

We must keep in mind that at Shrewsbury, Falstaff is no longer a recruiter in the city—he is a *soldier* in action. His counterfeit death, enacted to save his own skin, is commonly perceived as an act of cowardice but on closer examination, one could very well argue that his behavior demonstrates a kind of autonomy deprived of the soldier (as one who gives his life to the state):

> Embowelled? If thou embowel me today, I'll give you leave to powder me, and eat me too, tomorrow. 'Sblood, 'twas time to counterfeit, or that hot termagant Scot had paid me, scot and lot [in full] too. Counterfeit? I lie, I am no counterfeit. To die is to be a

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[20] Maurice Morgann's *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* (1777) is at the center of attention in discussions on Falstaff's "cowardice" and is one of the earliest works to address this subject in terms of the character's profession as a captain and soldier. Morgann's defense of Falstaff was not widely accepted (and was in fact ridiculed by Dr. Johnson), but it did receive more recognition and credibility after A. C. Bradley highlighted his contribution to giving an alternative interpretation to an aspect of Falstaff that has been overlooked. Also see P. L. Carver's "The Influence of Maurice Morgann" (1930); A. C. Bradley's *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* on "The Rejection of Falstaff," 247-78 (1963); J. Dover Wilson's discussion of Falstaff as the classical braggart soldier in *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (1964), esp. 82-113, and his footnote on Dr. F. S. Boas, who noted that "Sir John is far too complex and dazzling a creation to be ranked with the braggart soldier type" (138n1).

> counterfeit, for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man. But to counterfeit dying when a man thereby liveth is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed. The better part of valour is discretion, in the which better part I have saved my life. Zounds, I am afraid of this gunpowder Percy, though he be dead. How if he should counterfeit too, and rise? By my faith, I am afraid he would prove the better counterfeit. Therefore I'll make him sure; yea, and I'll swear I killed him. Why may not he rise as well as I? Nothing confutes me but eyes, and nobody sees me. (V.iv.110-25)

Honor, no doubt, is put to the question, but Falstaff's speech empowers the soldier in battle, which also problematizes discussion on cowardice and warfare. The value of life, on his own terms, is more honorable than dying for the king's war. It is the latter that is "counterfeit," as he exclaims: "To die is to be a counterfeit, for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man." This is a soldier who asserts the value of his life over the king's honor. Against the backdrop of an ongoing war, Falstaff's speech compels audience members to consider the tensions between private autonomy and state honor in act of "cowardice" when deserters were shamed and disgraced from running away from serving the state in what seemed to be completely inhuman conditions. News of desertion and the miserable conditions in Ireland were still rife in England when Falstaff gave his speech on the London stage.[21]

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[21] See Sir Henry Wallop's 1 August 1595 report to Burghley, one of many that describes the plight of the English troops in Ireland: "it is thought few of the captains will be found to have above 40 able Englishmen in the band; and the British companies are also decayed by death, but much more by running away, for that they like not this country service" (*CSPI* 1592-96/351). In 1596, Sir Ralph Lane wryly told the Earl of Essex: "However valiantly the common English soldier carries himself abroad against a foreign enemy they of the former supplies coming into Ireland have shewn themselves as stark cowards against the Irish, whom they were wont by great odds to beat. But now the Irish soldiers are most ready, well disciplined, and as good marksmen as France, Flanders, or Spain can show" (*CSPI* 1596-97/151).

The lack of furniture, victuals, and salaries (drastically reduced after the captains and clerks took their shares, that was if the funds even arrived at all from England) in Ireland affected the soldiers' ability to serve. Desertion was commonplace because of the conditions that the men were forced to serve it in: "It is well known and a truth to be avouched that there have been divers garrisons in many places of Ireland which have lived without taste of bread or drink, but of relief only of beef-water, some the space of six months, some eight, some more" (McGurk 36). In 1595, Sir Henry Wallop informed Burghley that he had been forced to borrow £1,350 for victuals as he described the "Extreme misery of the poor soldiers. They are destitute of brogues, shirts, mantles, or anything to defend them from the weather, and driven to go naked" (*CSPI* 1592-96/360). The war became so unpopular that a phrase grew from Cheshire even in the early years of the war that it was "better to be hanged at home than die like dogs in Ireland"; the Bishop of Chester who reported this begged to contribute money in place of men from his diocese (*CSPI* 1592-96/489). When men are deprived of the most basic needs to serve the state, honor, as Falstaff proclaims, has no place in war, and he owes neither life nor honor to God or state:

> I would be loath to pay [God] before his day. What need I be so forward with him that calls not on me? Well, 'tis no matter; honor pricks me on. Yea, but how if honor prick me off when I come on? How then? Can honor set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honor hath no skill in surgery then? No. What is honor? A word. What is in that word honor? What is that honor? Air—a trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died a Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. 'Tis insensible then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. (V.i.127-40).

Falstaff's attitude towards honor owed to the state calls attention to the English soldier's lot in Ireland. Honor cannot sustain a soldier's life. In Ireland, reports on the miserable conditions of the soldiers repeatedly floated back to the government: "Many of [Sir Thomas North's] hath from the beginning kept a most miserable, unfurnished, naked, and hunger-starven band. Many of his soldiers died wretchedly and woefully at Dublin; some whose feet and legs rotted off for want of shoes," and the "poor souls… uncared for and unrelieved, yet were their names still retained in the muster-roll" (*CSPI* 1596-97/194). Against this backdrop, Falstaff's catechism of honor in wartime is only a romantic ideal that justifies the expendability and wastage of human life. Falstaff gives cowardice a new meaning in this case, and he defines it outside of the confines of the state; he owes honor to himself before the state. Through Falstaff's soliloquy, Shakespeare gives an alternate voice to disgraced deserters in wartime but he also demonstrates empathy and those who were forced into conscription to fight for a state that was entirely ill-prepared for war.

Shakespeare's *Richard II* and *Henry IV (I)* are not about the Irish war, but they were written and staged at a time when the Irish war was on the minds of both the English state and its people. The references to Ireland in *Richard II* are explicit. The "invisible" island is associated not only with the abuse of the exchequer (in vain) but with the exploitation of the nobles and decay of John of Gaunt's "scept'red isle," his "other Eden, demi-paradise" (II.i.40, 42). The narrative that surrounds these issues resembles a cautionary tale for the Elizabethan government, which like Richard's previously, "hath not money for these Irish wars," but has continued with it anyway (II.i.255, 259–60). As far as we know, Shakespeare had never been to Ireland. It can be said that like most of the English population, he must have been puzzled and apprehensive about waging war with a country that was a kingdom of England and besides, one that acknowledged

English sovereignty. The question of why there was a need for the war was articulated as: what was the money being spent on, and why were our men sent away as "food for powder" and to "fill a pit as well as better" in a war that appeared to be one fought against the queen's own subjects (*Henry IV [I]* IV.ii.67). Unlike Scotland, which was an independent realm with its own king, and Wales, which had been assimilated, Ireland both was and was not part of the English state. J. G. A. Pocock's reconsideration of "The War of the Three Kingdoms" and his concept of distinguishing *bellum civile* and *bellum sociale*—the former as "a war between citizens of the same polity; the latter a war between "polities associated in a system comprising of a multiplicity of states"—locates Ireland as a state that straddles uncomfortably in the space between one and the other as it struggles to define a unique political structure within the "multiple monarchy" under English rule ("War of Three Kingdoms" 186, 189). This uneasy state of affairs continues to play out in Shakespeare's *Henry IV (II)* and *Henry V*.

With each play, warfare becomes increasingly violent and state control over the military corruption tightens. Falstaff's corruption in yet another recruitment campaign in *Henry IV (II)* creeps ever closer to Hal, who is ever closer to becoming the next English king. Falstaff's recruitment practices do not improve in *Henry IV (II)*. Among other men who are unfit for war service, Falstaff recruits Moldy, who reminds Falstaff that "Things that are moldy lack use" and that he would be more useful as a husbandman at home. In spite of the availability of "other men fitter to go," Mouldy is "pricked" anyway (III.ii.111-12, 119). More tellingly, Falstaff recruits Simon Shadow, whom he knows is "like to be a cold soldier," but "will serve for summer… for we have a number of shadows fill up the muster" (127, 137-39). Corrupted captains in the Irish army were reported to have encouraged such soldiers to desert the army. The soldiers' absence from the muster roll would not be recorded and they would pocket the salaries and allowances

sent from England. Sir Geoffrey Fenton was one of many who noted that unless reforms were carried out to limit such practices, "Her Majesty [will] continue still [be] charged to pay shadows and not men" (C*SPI* 1598-99/488).

The rejection of Falstaff is, among other reasons, a rejection of corruption and an attempt to control and contain corruption through a rejection of values that do not conform to the conventions of the state. When Hal becomes Henry V, he attempts to restore the corrupted values of honor, chivalry, and the subject's unflinching commitment to the state. As prince in *Henry IV (I)*, he demonstrates no hesitance when handing out the king's coffers to men who would squander it with no remorse, but in *Henry V*, Bardolph is executed for stealing from the chapel. Pistol begs the captains—Fluellen and Gower—to persuade the Duke of Exeter to reconsider this overly severe punishment, but they do not sympathize. The captains align themselves with the king and his nobles, suggesting on the one hand the officers' absolute loyalty to their monarch, and on the other hand the disunity among the king's soldiers. Gower's justification for refusing to spare Bardolph is troubling:

> Why, 'tis a gull, a fool, a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars, to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier. And such fellows are perfect in the great commanders' names: and they will learn you by rote where services were done; at such and such a sconce, at such a breach, at such a convoy; who came off bravely, who was shot, who disgraced, what terms the enemy stood on; and this they con perfectly in the phrase of war, which they trick up with new-tuned oaths: and what a beard of the general's cut and a horrid suit of the camp will do among foaming bottles and ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on. But you must learn to know such slanders of the age, or else you may be marvelously mistook. (III.vi.69—84)

Gower's speech is taken straight out of the rogue literature of Shakespeare's days, and here, Gower clearly does not identify himself as a soldier. Gower labels Bardolph as the typical vagabond soldier, as the scum of society, as one who uses his status as a soldier to deceive others.[22] The passage is troubling because it echoes Henry V's dialogue with Williams. In the most controversial scene of the play, the disguised king tries to persuade Williams that monarchs are no more responsible for the lives of their soldiers:

> The king is not bound to answer the particular endings of his soldiers, the father of his son, nor the master of his servant; for they purpose not their death, when they purpose their services. Besides, there is no king, be his cause never so spotless, if it come to the arbitrament of swords, can try it out with all unspotted soldiers: some peradventure have on them the guilt of premeditated and contrived murder; some, of beguiling virgins with the broken seals of perjury; some, making the wars their bulwark, that have before gored the gentle bosom of peace with pillage and robbery. Now, if these men have defeated the law and outrun native punishment, though they can outstrip men, they have no wings to fly from God: war is his beadle, war is vengeance; so that here men are punished for before-breach of the king's laws in now the king's quarrel. Where they feared the death, they have borne life away; and where they would be safe, they perish: then if they die unprovided, no more is the king guilty of their damnation than he was before guilty of those impieties for the which they are now visited. (IV.i.158-81)

[22] On vagrants who take on alternative identities, see Martin van Elk's "The Counterfeit Vagrant: The Dynamic of Deviance in the Bridewell Court Records and the Literature of Roguery," and Patricia Fumerton's "Making Vagrancy (In)visible: The Economics of Disguise in Early Modern Rogue Pamphlets." Both essays can be found in *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture* (2004), eds. Craig Dionne and Steve Mentz.

Gower and Hal, captain and king both believe that soldiers are criminals and that "war is vengeance"; should these men die in their service to the king, then they are justly punished anyways. Staged in 1599 at the peak of the Nine Years War, Shakespeare's depiction of these views in *Henry V* destabilizes the "imagined" unity of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland through the affinity among the four captains, each representing one of these nations. If *Henry V* imagined unity, *Richard II* and *Henry VI (I)* expose fragmentation.

Richard II and *Henry IV (I)* are not plays about Ireland, but their underlying attitudes towards warfare are responses to the Irish war. Shakespeare's preoccupation with the implications of the mismanagement of a war in the two plays underscore anxieties about the impact that the Irish war had on the English population. But more notably Shakespeare's focus on corruption and the social problems that arise from it articulates a more controversial issue, and one that could not be discussed publicly: the country was fighting in war that was shrouded in distrust. The queen and her military personnel had different agendas and competing interest; one abused and exploited the other at the expense of the English nation and those fighting in Ireland. As these conditions persisted into the late 1590s, too much money and too many lives had been spent. The themes in *Henry V* underscore a sense of desperation: England had no other option other than to win the war. Shakespeare's *Henriad* was staged over the war years, and although they are not plays about Ireland, they track a range of contending preoccupations in England at a time when perceptions of an ongoing war were put to the test not only between the English and the Irish, but between monarch and subjects.

Chapter 5. Epilogue: After the Earl of Essex: 1599 and the End of the Irish War

In 1987, the Irish poet Seamus Heaney immortalized one of the most striking images in early modern Irish history in his poem "Terminus":

> Two buckets were easier carried than one.
> I grew up in between.
>
> My left hand placed the standard iron weight.
> My right tilted a last grain in the balance.
>
> Baronies, parishes met where I was born.
> When I stood on the central stepping stone
>
> I was the last earl on horseback in midstream
> Still parleying, in earshot of his peers. (5)

This "last earl" is Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, and the scene is historical.[1] In one of his final negotiations with English authorities in 1599, O'Neill showed up unexpectedly amidst the Lord Lieutenant Essex's forces and requested to speak with him. Essex agreed. During their conversation, O'Neill and his followers remained on their horses, which stood in the river with the water level up to the horses' bellies; Essex spoke from the banks, on hard ground. Brendan

[1] See Andrew Murphy's "Heaney and the Irish Poetic Tradition" (2009), esp. 141-43.

Kane has referred to this episode as one that estranged Essex's relationship with the queen. Apparently, Essex reported that O'Neill only agreed to parley with him because of "his affection for his father's sake, as he would not draw his sword against him, but he would do that for him which he would not do for any other" (114). O'Neill's friendship with Walter Devereux, the first earl of Essex, is less important than the dynamics of what was going on in this negotiation.[2] As Kane astutely notes, the meeting "displays not only O'Neill's sense that as an Irish peer he was entitled to such negotiations, but also Essex's belief that as a noble commander he was able to pick his parleys as he wished" (114). Essex was probably not aware until later that the negotiation was one that should not have been conducted. As Kane observes, the event represented a "gentlemen's agreement, related to state affairs, but one in which the actual prestige of the monarch was cut out" (114). Yet, if the queen was angered at Essex's disregard of protocol, stipulating that crown representatives were not allowed to negotiate with the enemy as if they were equals, then her anger may have been misplaced when we consider the authority she had granted him when she appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

As the last years of the Nine Years War show, the struggle for authority between the queen and her crown representative in Ireland changed little since Sir Henry Sidney's time. In the 1580s, Sidney had campaigned hard for the title of Lord Lieutenant, as opposed to Lord Deputy. The difference between the titles was not merely one that had to do with prestige, but with authority, and Sidney's desire to be commissioned Lord Lieutenant was entirely in line with the complaints in his *Memoir*: he wished to have complete authority in governing Ireland. Traditionally, the highest appointment of the chief governor of Ireland was that of the King's

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[2] For a brief discussion of Walter and Robert Devereux's roles in Ireland, see Wayne E. Lee's *Barbarians and Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865* (2011), esp. his chapter on "The Earls of Essex, 1575 and 1599."

Lieutenant. The terms that the King's Lieutenant negotiated with his monarch varied and they could be limited, or outright limitless. For instance, when Edmund Mortimer was made King's Lieutenant to Richard II, he was entitled to use "all the normal revenues of Ireland, as well as taxes, and [he was] not required to account to the English exchequer" (Richardson and Sayles 13). He was paid 20,000 marks (an increase of 14,000 marks from the office in 1316) and given "permission to expend the King's revenue as he wished" (Wood 207). The King's Lieutenant also had the authority to appoint deputies and other important officials to his executive. When Essex negotiated for the office in 1599, he asked to be made Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland (at a time when the title of Deputy was used more generally) and persuaded the queen to pardon his debts and those that his father incurred before he died. The queen did not forgive all his debts, and she "made up for it by the ample powers given to Essex in his instructions…because we shall hereafter find great blame laid upon him for having exercised the authority given him" (Devereux 11).

The position promised immense wealth, but it was the authority that came with it that would also make it a dangerous one because, in Essex's case, his grandeur and authority were a threat to the queen's honor. Christopher Marlowe accurately dramatizes this in *Edward II* (1593) when the king tells Piers Gaveston:

> I'll give thee more; for, but to honour thee,
> Is Edward pleas'd with kingly regiment.
> Fear'st thou thy person? thou shalt have a guard:
> Wantest thou gold? go to my treasury:
> Wouldst thou be lov'd and fear'd?: receive my seal,
> Save or condemn, and in our name command

What so thy mind affects, or fancy likes. (I.162-68)

Shortly after, Gaveston is made King's Lieutenant in Ireland. Mortimer the Younger then warns Mortimer the Elder of the danger of this move:

Know you not Gaveston hath store of gold,
Which may in Ireland purchase him such friends
As he will front the mightiest of us all?
And whereas he shall live and be belov'd,
'Tis hard for us to work his overthrow. (IV.257-62)

The threat that the nobles perceived was not unlike the queen's sentiments towards Essex's meeting with O'Neill. The enemy's affinity with his father, which extended to him, was enough to put the queen out of the negotiations. On top of this, he was quick to exercise his right to appoint royal officials and grant knighthoods. At the end of 1598, his expedition to Ireland was highly anticipated and it was reported that young lords, nobles, and "the most part of those knights that be his creatures" would follow him. Even before Essex's departure was confirmed, "[f]or eight or ten days the soldiers flocked about him, and every man hoped to be a colonel at least" (Devereux 7, 8).

Essex's popularity was what made him dangerous and crown authorities were quick to respond to this. John Hayward was interrogated and arrested after the publication of *History of the First Year of Henry IV* (1599), which was dedicated to Essex. The queen regarded this work as she did Essex's commission of Shakespeare's *Richard II* on the eve of his revolt in England when she famously remarked to William Lambarde: "I am Richard, know ye not that?"[3] In early 1600, images celebrating Essex's expedition circulated in London. Thomas Cockson's engraving

[3] On the origin and context of Lambarde's oft-quoted remark, see Jason Scott-Warren's "Was Elizabeth I Richard II?: The Authenticity of Lambarde's 'Conversation' " (2012).

portrayed Essex in his martial apparel and noted his military achievements on the continent. Even after it was clear that he had failed in Ireland and when he was under house arrest, the pictures remained popular and the Privy Council was forced to suppress the sales of "anie pictures but of her most excellent Majesty" (McCoy 98).[4] This sensitivity was also linked to the government's response to the progress of the war in Ireland. Essex's utter failure in Ireland and his revolt left English authorities flustered and England vulnerable to a potentially damaging defeat. The Nine Years War was so unpopular among the people that the government felt threatened enough to impose restrictions on the circulation and open discussions of the war. Francis Cordale's 1599 letter to Humphrey Galdelli, then in Venice, stated: "I can send no news of the Irish wars, all advertisements thence being prohibited, and such news as comes to Council carefully concealed. I fear our part has had little success, lost many captains and whole companies, and has little hopes of prevailing" (Clare 116). The Bishop's Ban was passed in1599 and it was passed to prevent publication of satires and other politically sensitive materials. But the effects of suppression and censorship cut both ways. Even as they attempted to limit and control the spread of bad news from Ireland, they announced the anxieties of the Elizabethan government.

The English government's attitude towards Essex and the war in Ireland was also a reaction to popular sentiments that were spreading through England. The discontent of the people stemmed from fears that England could be fighting a losing battle in Ireland at the expense of the welfare of her people. John Hooker's providential interpretation of Irish history was echoed at

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[4] On Essex's popularity and his commission of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, see L. W. Kenny's "Contemporary Sources of Essex's Lieutenancy in Ireland, 1599" (1958-9), Paul E. Hammer's "Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex" (1995), and Leeds Barroll's "A New History for Shakespeare and His Time" (1999).

the turn of the century; in his description of Ireland before 1603, John Davies commented that Ireland was called the "Land of Ire, because the Irascible power was predominant there," which implied that it was virtually impossible to conquer the country (153). War and chaos, he claimed, was "universal and perpetual" in Ireland: "For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance. But the plagues of Ireland, lasted four hundred years together" (157–58). This notion of endlessness, described as "worlds end," combined with the people's knowledge of corruption and the abuse of that the common soldier had to endure in Ireland made matters worse.

The attempt to reverse these sentiments has called critics' attention to Shakespeare's depiction of Essex's expedition to Ireland in the fifth chorus in *Henry V*:

> The mayor and all his brethren in best sort—
> Like to the senators of th'antique Rome,
> With the plebians swarming at their heels—
> Go forth and fetch their conqu'ring Caesar in;
> As, by a lower but by loving likelihood,
> Were now the general of our gracious Empress
> (As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,
> Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
> How many would the peaceful city quit
> To welcome him! Much more, and much more cause
> Did they this Harry. (Cho. V 25-35)

But the celebration of medieval martial prowess that Shakespeare associates with Essex is undermined in the course of the play.[5] By the time Essex was sent to Ireland in 1599, England had spent vast resources and many lives in the war. There was no longer a question of whether the war would end or if England would win but that she *must* win, Agincourt style, to render her losses worthwhile. Williams' conversation with the disguised king is an eloquent rendition of what Londoners could have thought in 1599 against the backdrop of the Irish war:

> But if the [King's] cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make, when all those legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle, shall join together at the latter day and cry all, "We died at such a place" […] I am afeard there are few die well that die in a battle; for how can they charitably dispose of anything when blood is their argument? Now, if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the King that led them to it; who to disobey, were against all proportion of subjection. (IV.i.136-49)

Williams speaks his mind but at the end of the conversation, his comments are entirely subverted by the king. Exasperated with the king's counter arguments, Williams tells him that a common subject's trust means nothing to a monarch: one "may as well go about to turn the sun to ice with fanning in his face with a peacock's feather" (IV.i.204-6).

The helplessness and exasperation that Williams expresses in *Henry V* echo the anti-war sentiments in England. It was not the war that they were against, but the economic impositions that they had to live with. Barnabe Rich noted that most people hate war "not so much for any special loue they haue for peace, as for fear of taxes, payments, & other charges hanging vpon

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[5] Richard Dutton has argued that the empress's general in the fifth chorus is in fact the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Charles Blount, who was appointed in 1600 to take over Essex's place in Ireland. This interpretation also changes the traditional dating of the play from mid to late 1599, since it was apparent by the summer of 1599 that Essex's campaign was not doing well. See " 'Methinks the truth should love from age to age': The Dating and Contexts of *Henry V*" (2005).

warre" (31). The impositions placed on the English public spread across all classes in the country. As John McGurk's comparison of the levies drawn from Kent, Cheshire, and Lancashire shows, the burden of the Irish war stretched the tolerance of the English people to a breaking point at the turn of the century: " 'England,' one historian commented, 'generally grew weary of an old woman's government'. By the beginning of the new century it was becoming increasingly difficult to raise levies as the government sensed and feared a hostile attitude" (99). The government's reluctance to pay for another expensive campaign after Essex's return does not have to be considered as a response to these attitudes. Nonetheless, the government made it clear that the new Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Charles Blount, must make do with resources that remained from Essex's command.

The instructions drafted for Mountjoy's appointment in early 1600 signaled a notable shift that suggests the government's new attitude towards its chief crown representative. The lord deputy received instructions that ensured that there would be no repetition of the Essex debacle. The document acknowledged that the government of England had "received dishonor and consumed infinite masses of treasure through the errors of those to whom we formerly committed it" (*Carew MSS* Vol. 3 356). More interestingly, among the usual orders that could be found in similar documents, a number of clauses in Mountjoy's commission referred directly to Essex's abuse of royal authority. For instance, when negotiating with rebel forces, the lord deputy was advised to follow royal protocol, because: "[t]o avoid bloodshed, we have given large authority to our governors to receive even those that have most notoriously conspired against us, but this has been so indiscreetly used that in showing mercy we have punished our best subjects and dishonored ourselves" (359). He was also cautioned to exercise restrain in granting knighthoods: "The excess which other governors have used has made that degree so

common as to be contemptible, and created jealousies here [in England]" (361). By December of the same year, he received further orders having to do with army regulations, and was told that "No man shall use any traitorous word against her Majesty's person or royal authority, upon pain of death" (503).[6]

There was little doubt of the deep embarrassment the government felt after Essex's return. In Fynes Moryson's description of the final years of the Irish war in *An History of Ireland From the Year 1599 to 1603* (1735), the queen finally, at the most crucial point of the war, chose the right man to lead her army. As secretary to Mountjoy, Moryson describes his employer as a martial man who was wholly unlike Essex. In his Moryson's narrative, Mountjoy's martial prowess rivals that of Essex, but he is a man of few words who does not surround himself with inferiors who ready to flatter and entertain him; Mountjoy's campaigns are seen to achieve far more than Essex. Moryson also makes it a point to mention Mountjoy's winter campaigns against the Irish rebels. Only two years after his appointment, Mountjoy turned the direction of the war around at the siege of Kinsale. Hugh O'Donnell's premature death, O'Neill's tactical errors, his failure to garner more support from Philip III and the Old English community culminated in a formal defeat of the Irish on 30 March 1603. The events that unfolded have led modern historians to consider whether Mountjoy's triumph was his to claim, or if it was a chance victory. John Silke has argued that the Irish defeat could be attributed to its relationship and

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See the famous case of Lord Deputy John Perrot (1584-88), who was thrown into the tower for treason and corruption. When charges were brought against him, he was accused of uttering treasonous words against the queen; refusing to follow her orders, he purportedly exclaimed:

> Stick not so much upon Her Majesty's letter, she may command what she will but we will do what we list; Ah, now wily woman, now she shall not curb me, she shall not rule me now; God's wounds, this it is to serve a base bastard piss kitchen woman, if I had served any prince in Christendom I have not been so dealt withal. (Morgan "The Fall of Sir John Perrot" 121)

Roger Turvey's extensive study of the case can be found in *Treason and Trial of* (2005). Also see Julia M. Walker's (ed.) *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana* (1998).

Spain's relationship with England: "Spanish interest in Ireland…was in reality but a pawn on the chessboard. If the pawn must be sacrificed to gain the greater piece of England, then it would be so" (Silke 63). The issue of whether or not Spain "sold" Ireland for its own interest has very much to do with O'Neill's bad timing.

England's war against Ireland and the way in which it came to an end can be read as an analogue of Elizabeth's relationship with her sister kingdom. When she ascended the throne in 1558, she lamented that Ireland was "an unwelcome inheritance." The two major rebellions in 1569 and 1579, the troubling relationship with crown representatives, the attempts to extend English justice across the whole island, and the wholesale swindling of funds from the exchequer demonstrated the aptness of her remark. These concerns spilled into the early modern chronicles, poetry, and plays that are under consideration in my study. The conflict between England and Ireland was also a conflict between the queen and her political and military advisors; the quarrel between states was also a quarrel within the English state. The dialogue among English writers and their representations of Irish affairs reflected the way Ireland was perceived in Elizabeth's eyes. Those who were in the English court often commented on how their queen was burdened with Irish affairs. Sir Robert Naunton describes the "Irish action" as "a malady and consumption of [Elizabeth's] times; for it accompanied her to her end, and it was of so profuse and cast an expence, that it drew neare unto a distemperature of state, and of passion in herself, for towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please" (14). The queen's disappointment, it can be said, had less to do with the Irish rebels than with the way her subjects regarded their monarch. It was said that she expressed this to her court in the last months of her life: "I find that I sent wolves not shepherds to govern Ireland for they have left me nothing but ashes and carcasses to reign over" (McGurk 203). When Elizabeth became queen, she remarked that Ireland was "an unwelcome

inheritance," and when she died, she did so only six days shy of England's long-awaited reconquest of Ireland.

Conclusion

The British and their words. The Irish and their endless meanings. How did such a small sea ever come between them?[1]

Writing about Elizabethan Ireland from a literary historicist perspective is to put words and meanings together, and to *imagine* a narrative that may not appear altogether coherent at first glance. Since J. G. A. Pocock's "British History: A Plea for a New Subject" (1975), literary scholars have attempted to do so by examining early modern writings within their own unique political and cultural frameworks. Ireland's constitutional status, first as a lordship then as a kingdom subordinate to the English monarchy, is of particular interest to two groups of literary theorists: those who work with post-colonial theory and others who study cultural anthropology. The discussions and debates from these fields have been immensely important in setting a foundation for studies of Elizabethan Ireland. They call attention to the conflicting interests between the two realms; questions of national and religious identities are raised, and these questions are fused with the struggle of self-representation against the representation of the "other."

What has been largely neglected in the discussions to define, assert, or problematize these issues is the notion that Anglo-Irish relations in the Elizabethan period were very much influenced and determined by the divisions of the English within its own government. England's conflict with Ireland was as much to establish and operate an effective government in Ireland as

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[1] Colum McCann's description of the room where former Prime Minister Tony Blair and Senator George Mitchell prepared for negotiations of the 1998 Northern Ireland peace talks. McCann imagines the tensions and conversations that took place in the room in his recent novel, *Transatlantic* (2013), 147.

it was a fight against the rebellious Irish subjects. In fact, this study has stressed that, in studying the representations of Ireland in early modern writings, one cannot be isolated from the other. In examining the strife within the English government, particularly between the old and new English administrators in Ireland, the authority of the queen over her lord deputy, her views of violence and mercy, and the distrust between the queen, her army, and her subjects in England, I have argued that England's longstanding failure to reform and conquer Ireland stemmed at least in part from the internal conflict within its own government, a conflict reflected in literary representations which are nowhere near as simplistically and uniformly anti-Irish as they have been so often assumed to be.

To arrive at a general understanding of the tensions within the colonial government in Elizabethan Ireland is to locate its anxieties in its own past. Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica* (1187) and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) provided Europe with the earliest history of Ireland in Latin. Gerald's descriptions of the magical nature and barbarous customs of the Irish were perpetuated in Europe as they were selectively repeated in medieval and early modern historical works. The *Expugnatio*, however, proved to be especially important in the shaping of English perceptions of its place in Irish history. The *Expugnatio* celebrates Henry II's conquest of Ireland, but within the context of this study, Gerald's work is all the more important because it records the earliest difficulties of colonial government. Embedded in an early modern historical narrative, *Expugnatio* articulates contemporary anxieties about the Elizabethan colonial government, more specifically, the conflict between the first invaders of Ireland and the newly arrived officials under King John's rule. Holinshed's *Chronicles* incorporates Gerald's *Expugnatio* into both 1577 and 1587 editions, and the two editors of the Irish section use this

twelfth-century history in ways that expose problems within the Elizabethan colonial government.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* is especially important in establishing English perceptions of Irish history because of its extensive history, in English of Ireland, from mythical beginnings to the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland. The editors of the *Irish Chronicle*, Richard Stanihurst (1577) and John Hooker (1587), updated the Giraldian history of Ireland and made it distinctly Elizabethan. The striking differences between their two versions accurately reflect the so-called "Irish problem" in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign, and each called attention to the ideologies and concerns that were of considerable importance in their day. Writing in the 1570s, at a time when English military presence in Ireland continued to grow, Stanihurst's humanist undertones suggest hopes for conciliatory as opposed to interventionist methods in reforming Ireland. More importantly, he addresses the problems within the seat of government there. His description and concerns of "degeneration" among the Old English community is at times self-contradictory, but it is precisely his contradictions that reveal the problems of colonial government in Dublin. Stanihurst condemns the "degenerated" Old English, but he is also at pains to tell readers that the Old English are *not* like the Irish, and that the Pale should not be perceived to be like the rest of Ireland. In doing so, Stanihurst was responding to the suspicions of the New English, who believed the Old English to be vulnerable to Irish influences, and thus prone to disloyalty. These descriptions hearken back to Gerald's *Expugnatio*, as Stanihurst also reminds readers that the Old English of his day are descendants and successors of the first invaders in Ireland. The reconciliation that Stanihurst seems to be seeking is thus not one between the English and the Irish, but rather between the Old English and the New English. Both groups worked within the colonial government and they were all subjects of the queen, but when

placed together, they did not feel positively disposed to each other. Stanihurst's anxieties and fears that the Old English would be further marginalized in Ireland were confirmed by the time Hooker was assigned to update his 1577 *Irish Chronicle*.

John Hooker's *Irish Chronicle* promoted ideas that were prevalent in the New English sphere: the Old English are as dangerous and rebellious as the Irish. Yet, this view was entirely aligned with his thoughts on the reformation of Ireland. Unlike Stanihurst who uses the *Expugnatio* to defend the ancient rights of his Old English ancestors, Hooker focuses on the right of conquest and uses it as a centerpiece to justify the need for violent reform in Ireland. For Hooker, the success of reform and conquest lies in the hands of the queen's principal representative in Ireland: the lord deputy. In Hooker's *Irish Chronicle*, Sir Henry Sidney is depicted as the ideal lord deputy through the immense authority that he derives directly from the queen herself. Hooker's representation of Sidney becomes problematic when he perceives Sidney's authority to be the equivalent to the queen's authority. The nature of royal absenteeism makes this a dangerous combination: the queen's authority can be delegated but in this delegation, the lord deputy's authority cannot threaten to rival hers.

Sidney's *Memoir*, written as a long letter to Walsingham, proves that Hooker's narrative of Sidney was in reality an imagined, idealized version of the real lord deputy, who complained that his authority was frequently curbed by an ungrateful and distrustful queen (under the seemingly villainous influence by the earl of Ormond). Sidney, like so many other lord deputies, had to work within the confines of what was deemed acceptable by the queen; the lord deputy's exercise of authority was thus intrinsically linked with the queen's ideas of reformation. Like Stanihurst and Hooker, Sidney cannot outright blame the queen for the shortfalls of her government for fear of offending English authorities. In his *Memoir*, Sidney's frustration with

the queen is directed at the earl of Ormond. Sidney's disappointment with the queen, however indirectly expressed, calls attention to one of the most pressing problems of colonial government: the interpretation of the queen's intentions having to do with the implementation of reform policies. Any discussion on this subject is especially challenging because of the delicate nature of interpretation, particularly the interpretation of justice.

For Edmund Spenser, however, allegory provides a means to explore some of the more controversial questions regarding royal authority and *how* it can be interpreted when delegated. In *Faerie Queene* Book V, Spenser demonstrates not only the difficulty but the impossibility of doing so through Artegall's attempt to carry out the wishes of Astraea in Faerie Land: to spread justice in her name. In every sense of the word, Artegall is obedient and loyal to Astraea, but it is precisely his obedience and loyalty to the Faerie Queens (Astraea, Mercilla, and Gloriana) that set him off-course in his quest to rescue Irena. His interpretation of Astraea's ideal vision of the rigors of justice makes him a tyrant in the Egalitarian Giant episode, but his admiration of Mercilla as a merciful judge inspires him to be merciful as well. The fact that there are three presiding queens in "The Legend of Justice" suggests that there are different versions of justice: that which is rigid and necessarily violent, and the other generous and merciful. Judging from Artegall's performance in key episodes in the book, he appears confused because of this: he does not know exactly when to be violent and when to be merciful, and is punished accordingly for his inability to fully interpret Astraea's, or for that matter, Mercilla's vision of justice. This confusion also alludes to the complexities of implementing reform, that in fact, justice cannot be imposed singularly with "the sword" or "the word."

Artegall's plight accurately reflects the plight of the lord deputy, and Spenser emphasizes this in comparing Artegall's fate to Lord Grey's recall from Ireland after the Smerwick massacre

(xii.27.1-9). The subtext that can be drawn from the allegorical Grey in the *Faerie Queene* addresses one of the most pressing problem in the case of royal absenteeism: the queen insists that rebellions must be quelled and justice enforced: the lord deputy follows her orders, but in return, is punished for doing so. More importantly, the plight of the lord deputy, in the figure of Artegall, also underscores the government's indecisiveness in relation to reform policies. While many of her counselors in England and administrators in Ireland were in favor of interventionist methods in the reformation of Ireland, the queen herself was hesitant to use force. England remained divided in her views of reformation and conquest. Queen and council were not of the same mind, and this division is further dramatized on London stages during the Nine Years War.

The last phase of the conquest of Ireland placed a strain on England as never before, and if divisions between queen and council affected the effectiveness of reform policies in Ireland, the divisions between the English government and its military personnel threatened to bankrupt the exchequer and further undermine popular support of an already unpopular war. Anti-war sentiments were rife in the late 1590s and London audiences would have recognized them on the stage, particularly in Shakespeare's history plays. Every single one of the history plays is concerned with the change of regime, but it is warfare that shaped and determined the result of these changes. Against the backdrop of the Irish war, King Richard consistently tried to justify his exploitation of the nobles and abuse of power with the need to embark on an Irish expedition in *Richard II*. That Ireland is talked about but never seen first and foremost questions the legitimacy of the war, and then the justification of fighting a war at the expense of a people who seem to have no interest in it. But it is in the transition from *Richard II* to *Henry IV (I)* that we can begin to locate the anxieties of early modern warfare through the lens of Shakespeare: vast amounts of money were taken from the exchequer and extracted from the wealthier English

subjects to fund a war, yet there seemed to be little indication that victory was at hand. To the dismay of the English government, widespread corruption was practiced among the queen's chief officers and captains. Shakespeare dramatizes the implications of war profiteering in *Henry IV (I)* and in doing so, he emphasizes the division between monarch and subjects in the ongoing war: their competing interests—victory for the queen, private gains for her subjects—resulted in the government's inability to provide adequate support for the war in Ireland.

In focusing on periods and events that led to the final conquest of Ireland in 1603, this study has traced the role that "internal" conflict played in shaping the ideas of reform and conquest in Elizabethan Ireland. At the core of this discussion, I hope to stress the lack of attention that has been paid to the divisions within England. Although the larger conflict at hand is one between the English and the Irish. I have shown that the English government's perception of "the Irish problem" was not entirely based on political or religious disagreements between the two realms. In fact, the English government's stance towards these disagreements and its reform policies were largely influenced by the internecine conflict of identity, authority, and ideology between the queen and her subjects. As with all studies that consider the limits of representation and interpretation, my argument does not seek or attempt to pin down a given set of agenda that speaks for the exigencies of the period. There are hundreds of letters and reports in the calendar books on Ireland, and these cannot even begin to tell us about the contention among the queen, her council in England, and her representatives in Ireland, which circulated in whispers behind closed chambers and expressed and exchanged in cipher among some of her most trusted advisors.[2] In piecing together bits of the histories, letters, poems, and plays produced in the Elizabethan era and considering the implicit anxieties in them, I hope to have opened a small

[2] See Christopher Burlinson's and Andrew Zurcher's, eds. *Edmund Spenser: Selected Letters and Other Papers* (2009), xlvii.

window with “a view of the state of England” during one of the most turbulent periods in Anglo-Irish history.

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