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Territorial Possessions:

Gender, Power, and Identity in Tudor Ireland

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Tara Suzanne Rider

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Territorial Possessions:

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Gender, power, and identity formed a critical intersection in sixteenth century Ireland as Tudor England sought to bring this neighboring island more fully under Crown control. This dissertation examines how England imposed gender on both the Irish landscape and the Irish people, creating an illusion of weakness, a lack of power, and a means of controlling a society and a nation. This project examines the strategies England employed in the sixteenth century to bring Ireland more fully under English control in order to demonstrate how the cultural construction of Ireland's land and populace as both female and Other justified English colonization of Ireland. This project explores how the geo-politics of sixteenth century Ireland created a divide between not only the Irish and the English, but also within the peoples of Ireland.

Ironically, England's colonial creation of a negative sense of femininity forced the self-consciousness of these discernible differences – such as gender – that would lead to the Irish opposition of colonization. By studying not only the historical figure of the "Irish Pirate Queen" Gráinne Ní Mháille, but also how she would be imagined and reimagined by future Irish generations, this project explores how the constructions of masculinity/femininity as well as of colonizer/colonized could be disrupted. In its search for social, economic, and political independence, Ireland highlighted the mutability of the roles of colonizer and colonized.

Dedication Page

To:

My husband Andrew Zeiss

and

My feline advisors Gráinne and Fiona and walking partner Aislin

and

My family here and in Heaven

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

List of Poems and Songs

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Introduction

The search for identity and power is indelibly connected with the people and the landscape of Ireland. The Irish identity often reflected an imposed colonial hegemony. However, the Irish people would seek to create an alternative identity that was culturally and socially distinguishable from that imposed by English colonizing forces. This dissertation examines the intersection of gender and power in the relations between the Irish and the English populations during the Tudor era. Through a discussion of the figure of Gráinne Ní Mháille, a female Irish leader of the sixteenth century, I argue that gender – especially femininity – was employed first by the English to subjugate the Irish and then later by the Irish as they struggled to overthrow English domination.

My research demonstrates that the cultural construction of Ireland as both female and Other was employed by England in the sixteenth century to bring Ireland more fully under English control. Attitudes concerning gender and race differentiation characterized the English view of Ireland. At once substantive and symbolic, the linkage of gender and race with landscape raises questions of power, culture, and identity. Consequently, the inextricably coupling of the Irish landscape and the people who inhabited it with gender was part of a larger colonial, cultural, and political subordination.

Geopolitics of the English Center/Irish Periphery Relationship

As the smaller of the two major islands off the northwestern coast of Europe, Ireland's locus in early modern history would shift from being on the edge of the known world to being

near the center of a new Atlantic sphere.[1] This transformation occurred because of Ireland's close proximity to England, which was undergoing a process of nation-building during the sixteenth century. Under the Tudors, a push towards centralization and administrative uniformity reshaped the character of Englishness. However, even within this extended Tudor state, distinctions between core and periphery were still made.[2] Within this core-periphery discourse, I focus specifically on sixteenth-century Ireland, where the geo-politics of Ireland created a divide between the various Irish and English populations. This pivotal negotiation between the Gaelic Irish, Hiberno-Norman, and English people on this island created spaces in which hegemony was both molded and challenged.[3] While nationalism has often been treated as

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[1] For more information about the Irish and the Atlantic World see Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); David Gleeson, *The Irish in the Atlantic World: The Carolina Low Country and the Atlantic World* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2010); Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

[2] The Tudor State included not only England, but also Wales and Ireland. According to Steven G. Ellis, Henry VIII endorsed a gradualist strategy to assimilate Gaelic Ireland culturally and politically into the Tudor State. Expanded by Elizabeth I, this policy was an effort to end the political influence of the Hiberno-Normans or Old English by replacing them with the New English, a new political and bureaucratic elite. [Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1999)]. Also see Christopher Maginn, *William Cecil, Ireland and the Tudor State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). According to Maginn, William Cecil, who played a pivotal role during the sixteenth century in both the administration of England and Ireland, envisioned the Tudor State as consisting of two separate kingdoms under one crown: England and Ireland.

[3] The Hiberno-Normans were the descendants of the twelfth century Norman conquerors of Ireland. During different periods of Irish history, this community would be identified by various names. By the Tudor era, this group would be labeled the "Old English" in order to differentiate them from the "New English," who were mainly Protestant immigrants of the Elizabethan period and later. The later term "Anglo-Irish" would come to represent the descendents and successors of the Protestant Ascendancy of the seventeenth and eigteenth centuries . For this project, the term "Hiberno-Normans" will be used. For further discussion

monolithic or monochromatic, this perception is inadequate when studying the roots of the varied nationalisms present in modern Ireland. Thus, this dissertation is in part a case study of nationalisms 'in the making.'

Not only Ireland's location, but also its physical landscape would affect its interactions with Europeans. Contained by nearly 1,448 kilometers of coastline, Ireland's fragmented topography is part of the island's personality. Ireland's geography hosts an infinite variety of natural landscapes that would challenge both the Irish and the English as they sought to define and delimit questions of gender, race, and authority. While geology has shaped Ireland's physical landscape, it is also a dynamic system subject to change and evolution. Both natural processes and human activities form landscapes. However, while humans to some extent can mold the landscape to meet their needs, the impact that landscape has on humans' physical and psychological environment will continuously shape their actions.[4]

The creation of natural landscapes occurs without the aid of man while cultural landscapes are the "combined works of nature and of man."[5] A cultural landscape is not simply the inevitable response to a natural landscape, but rather is the outcome of selection and transformation.[6] The preconceptions and traditions of the community determine, in part, how a

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of the Hiberno-Normans, see Robert Dudley-Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors: The Destruction of Hiberno-Norman Civilization* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).

[4] For further discussion, see F. H. A. Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland* (London: Academic Press, 1978).

[5] UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention" (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2012), 14. Cultural landscapes "illustrate the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic, and cultural forces, both external and internal."

[6] For further discussion of cultural landscapes, see William M. Denevan and Kent Mathewson (eds.), *Carl Sauer: On Culture and Landscape* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

society reacts to the natural landscape. Consequently, modern scholarship views culture not as a fixed reality, but rather as a fluid one due to wider societal context. Culture is a politically contested terrain, posited at the intersections of economic, social, and political developments.[7]

Under English pressures, a radical transformation of the Irish environments – woodlands, wetlands, and cultivated lands – eroded old Gaelic ways of understanding and using such environments. While Irish lands had the potential to develop oat cultivation, which would be central to the English manor, the Gaelic Irish economy, settlement patterns, and mythologies instead revolved around cattle and cows. Combined with the extensive development of bogs, the landscape enabled the development of local and regional subcultures.[8] Over time, the Gaelic Irish created a "long running narrative, fabricated, transformed, told, and retold by the generations of dwellers-cum-storytellers" in which memory and landscape became interlaced.[9] The *Lebar Gabála Érenn* (The Book of the Taking of Ireland) and the *Dindshenchas* (The Book of Placelore) tell of a human creation of Ireland's land.[10] These works demonstrate how the

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[7] Viewing landscape as a symbolic system allows for its examination in the context of specific times and places. For more information, see Peter Jackson, *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); James S. Duncan, "The Power of Place in Kandy, Sri Lanka: 1780-1980," in John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (eds.), *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 185- 201; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).

[8] E. Estyn Evans, *The Personality of Ireland: Habitat, Heritage and History* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1973), 18-41.

[9] William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes, and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 3.

[10] See Edward Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, Todd Lecture, Series X (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1913) and Frank Mitchell, *The Irish Landscape* (London: Collins, 1976). *Lebar Gabála Érenn* is a collection of poems and prose narratives that aim to tell the history of Ireland and the Irish from the creation of the world to the Middle Ages. The earliest compilation by an anonymous writer dates from the eleventh century. *Dindshenchas* is the basis of much of Irish mythology as it focuses on specific places and the traditions associated

ideologies and values fundamental to the Gaelic culture were tethered to the landscape by the start of the sixteenth century.

The Irish of the Sixteenth Century

Recent Irish historiography suggests that sixteenth-century Ireland is one of the most contested periods of history. The question of "Who are the Irish?" highlights the tensions and complexities of this era. Within Tudor Ireland, a variety of communities by turns interacted with, allied with, or antagonized one another. These communities included the Gaelic Irish, the Old English, and the New English – with members of the last group being the most recent arrivals to Ireland.

In traditional Irish historical narratives, the "Irish" and the "English" are treated as oppositional poles in a linear dynamic. This scheme oversimplifies what occurred in Ireland, however, ignoring the impacts of intermarriage and interactions that led to assimilation and adaptation by all participants. Ireland's wild landscape was seen as repeatedly seducing unwary colonists into a degenerate imitation of native inhabitants.[11] Until the Tudor era, each group of potential conquerors of Ireland – whether they were the ninth-century Norse or the twelfth-century Normans – had become "gaelicized."[12] The eighteenth-century phrase describing this

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with those areas. Again, it dates back to around the eleventh century. See also John Carey, "*Lebar Gabála* and the Legendary History of Ireland," In Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 32–48; John Carey, *A New Introduction to Lebar Gabála Érenn. The Book of the Taking of Ireland Edited and Translated by R.A. Stewart Macalister* (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1993).

[11] William Caxton, *The Description of Britain: A Modern Rendering*, Marie Collins (ed.) (New York: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988), 151.

[12] Gaelicization was the process through which foreigners came to adopt a whole range of native Irish cultural modes – from language, dress, and literature to features of native political legal and military organization.

process – "more Irish than the Irish themselves" – came to symbolize nationalistic struggles and the pursuit of what it meant to be Irish and who would be included within that group. However, the Irish themselves were being "Englished." Gaelic Irish lords adopted anglicized methods of defense and warfare, and incorporated new agricultural practices.[13] While daily contentions existed, the borders between these groups often blurred, though the focus of class and loyalty often sharpened the differences leading to conflict.

Claiming control of most of Ireland since the fourteenth century, the Anglo-Normans had not succeeded in conquering that country as easily as their forbears had England. Their task was more difficult since there was no central government in Ireland for them to dominate. Furthermore, the Anglo-Normans were not a united group of invaders; they fought amongst themselves as much as they fought the Irish. This continuous warfare had gradually reduced Anglo-Norman strength.[14]

While Anglo-Norman conquerors claimed they were the only legitimate residents of Ireland, the new settlers during the Tudor period would abandon this idea due to its impracticality. The legacy of the Anglo-Normans was the establishment of the rudimentary elements of the English political system in Ireland, though only effective within practice in the Pale. From around 1350 onwards, Irish chieftains had begun to regain their territories. They had acquired new weapons and tactics from the Anglo-Normans and had begun to hire Scottish mercenaries called gallowglasses.

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[13] For further discussion of these ideas, see Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Richard Roche, *Norman Invasion of Ireland* (Minneapolis: Anvil Books, 1995).

[14] Bowed by political and social pressures, Anglo-Normans in remote areas were becoming gaelicized and eventually would be identified simply as Hiberno-Norman or, by the sixteenth century as the Old English.

The idea of colonists "going native" and losing their Englishness was a fear of the English Crown by the fifteenth century. Especially disturbing to the English was the speed with which this transformation seemed to occur in Ireland. The "Old English" settlers, who had arrived in Ireland following the Norman invasion, had been so rapidly "Irished," that

> within less time than the age of a man, they had no marks or differences left amongst them of that noble nation, from which they were descended. For…they did not only forget the English language and scorn the use thereof, but grew to be ashamed of their very English names… and took Irish surnames and nicknames… [becoming] mere Irish in their language, names, apparel.[15]

Ireland would be imagined as Circe's island where men "tasted of Circe's poisoned cup, are quite altered" as they were transformed to the basest of animals.[16] Eventually, the area under effective control of the English in Ireland would be confined to a small area of the island, leaving most of the Irish largely "outside the Pale" – or literally outside of English influence. By the

[15] The earliest known reference to the term "Old English" is in the 1580s. [Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland 1534–1660* (Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland, 1987), vii.] The community of Norman descendants prior to then used numerous epithets to describe themselves (such as "Englishmen born in Ireland" or "English-Irish"), but it was only because of the political crisis of the 1580s that a group identifying itself as the Old English community actually emerged. See also S.J. Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland 1460-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), esp. chapters 1, 4, and 8; Vincent Carey, "Bilingualism and Identity Formation in Sixteenth century Ireland," in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005), esp. chapters 7-9**.** [Sir John Davies, *A Discoverie of the True Causes Why Ireland was Neuer Entirely Subdued: nor brought under obediance of the crown until the beginning of His Maiesties happie raign* (1612), in Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), *The Works in Verse and Prose Including Hitherto Unpublished MSS of Sir John Davies: For the First Time Collected and Edited with Facsimiles*, Vol. 1 (1876), 182, 212-213.]

[16] John Hooker cited in Raphael Holinshed, *The Second Volume of Chronicles: Containing the Description, Conquest, Inhabitation, and Troublesome Estate of Ireland* (London, 1586), 69. The second volume was first published in the 1587 edition, though its own title page bears the date 1586. Also see Davies, *A Discoverie of the True Causes…,* 182 – "degenerate and metamorphosed…like those who had drunk of Circe's Cup."

sixteenth century, the Pale had shrunk to such an extent that its complete disappearance was foreseeable and, with it, England's claim to Ireland.

Ireland was left in this state, for the most part undisturbed, until the Tudor dynasty. At that time, King Henry VIII attempted to subdue the country and bring it under true English control. This response was due to both the growth in power of the Fitzgerald dynasty in Ireland and the Crown's concerns over their loyalty. Descended from Norman invaders, the Fitzgeralds had become the de facto rulers of Ireland by the fifteenth century.[17] While swearing allegiance to the English crown, the family had supported a Yorkist pretender in 1487.[18] The 1535 rebellion against the crown, led by Silken Thomas Fitzgerald, further aggravated the situation.[19] These rebellions persuaded the Tudors of the need to extend and strengthen English rule within Ireland. Throughout this period, there would be a steep increase in the number of English immigrants to Ireland. These "New English" would be committed to binding these two islands more closely together.

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[17] Gearóid Mór FitzGerald, who was known as "The Great Earl," was the 8th Earl of Kildare and served as Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1477 to 1494. His son would inherit both the title and the position after his father. See Steven Ellis, "The 'Great Earl' of Kildare," Lecture, Medieval Ireland Symposium, Trinity College Dublin, October 15, 2013; Donough Bryan, *Gerald Fitzgerald: The Great Earl of Kildare: 1456-1513* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1933).

[18] As the figurehead of a Yorkist rebellion, Lambert Simnel was a pretender to the throne of England that threatened King Henry VII's new established reign. See Michael J. Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987); James A. Williamson, *The Tudor Age* (New York: D. McKay Co., 1961), 25.

[19] In 1534, Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell dismissed the infirmed Gerard FitzGerald, 9th Earl of Kildare, from his position as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and imprisoned him. Incorrectly believing that his father had been executed, Kildare's son, known as Silken Thomas, led an uprising in which his followers besieged Dublin and murdered the archbishop John Alen. Silken Thomas surrendered in 1535 and was later executed. See Laurence McCorristine, *The Revolt of Silken Thomas: A Challenge to Henry VIII* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1997).

Henry VIII and his children sought to bring – for the first time – Ireland under the control of not only a central government, but also one that was English. The principal motive that inspired the Irish undertakings of these sovereigns was self-protection. Having seen his father seize the throne, Henry wanted to make his position as secure as possible, as he feared that either domestic or foreign enemies might use Ireland as a base for operations against Tudor rule. From a Tudor viewpoint, Irish recalcitrance was an ever-growing danger in the sixteenth century as England – and with her Ireland – became ever more embroiled in European power struggles and the religious warfare of the age. As historian Richard Berleth wrote, "England could not afford a hostile and undefended Ireland at its back."[20] Thus, Henry and his successors would recognize that to rule England meant the English crown had to rule Ireland. In 1541, King Henry VIII would proclaim the Kingdom of Ireland, established as a single and distinct sovereignty bound to England only by the rule of a common monarch.[21] The Crown viewed this merger as beneficial to the peoples of Ireland as Irish lords would no longer be enemies of the English population, but rather common subjects, equal under the law.

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[20] Richard Berleth, *The Twilight Lords: An Irish Chronicle* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 217. For much of its history, Ireland's worth as a colony was considered more as a strategic military buffer to England's west than as a colonial exporter or source of farmland. Berleth emphasizes that, if Elizabeth had had her way, affairs in Ireland would not even have made her list of concerns; it was "a land always to be reformed tomorrow, never today... she preferred to ignore it" (3). However, due to events in Ireland, Elizabeth I would be unable to ignore Ireland. The Irish rebellion of 1579-1583 (known as the Second Desmond Rebellion) was not only a response to the increased centralization of Ireland's government as well as tensions between Gaelic and English societies, but it was also a religious dispute, with rebels claiming to support Catholicism by fighting against a Protestant queen. Thus, by the 1580s, the fear men such as William Cecil had about Ireland becoming an English quagmire for men and wealth had come true. Thus, the greater threat to the Elizabethan Crown was the fear of a full-scale invasion by Catholic Spain using Ireland as a base for attack against England.

[21] The title of "Lord of Ireland" was created for King Henry II of England in 1171. The title ceased to exist in 1541 when Henry VIII proclaimed Ireland to be a kingdom.

While in theory the kingdom of Ireland was distinct from the kingdom of England, in practice it was subsumed under the rule of the same person within the English monarchy and was placed in a secondary role. This idea of a composite monarchy, which England practiced with Wales as well, provided for territorial acquisitions that could provide prestige and new resources and wealth. The contiguity of borders such as that of England and Wales strengthened this form of monarchy, as did similarities in language, customs, and/or institutions. Thus, Ireland presented challenges to this form of composite monarchy that differed from those of Wales since Ireland was an outlying area under limited control and presented an appealing option for foreign intervention.[22]

Complicating this attempt to extend English authority across Ireland was the extensive system of allies and enemies that was inherent in both the Gaelic and Hiberno-Norman political systems. While by the end of the sixteenth century, the reliance on this political system would lead to the gradual integration of these two groups, it was never entirely stable or coherent.[23] Just as political change within England forced the Crown's policies in Ireland to fluctuate, there was no single response of "natives and newcomers" to the changing policies.[24] Survival, more than

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[22] For further discussion of composite monarchies, see J.H. Elliot, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present*, Vol. 137, no. 1 (1992): 48-71; Helmut Georg Koenigsberger, *Dominium Regale Or Dominium Politicum Et Regale: Monarchies and Parliaments in Early Modern Europe* (London: King's College, 1975).

[23] For discussions on factionalism, see J.F. Lyndon, *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1983), chapter 5; Art Cosgrove, *Later Medieval Ireland* (London: Clarendon Press, 1981), chapters 1-4.

[24] For discussion of the Old English political views, see Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland 1625-1642* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1966); Aidan Clarke, "Colonial Identity in Early Seventeenth century Ireland," in T.W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence: Historical Studies XI* (Belfast: The Appletree Press, 1978), 57-71; Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chapter 9; Brendan Bradshaw, "A Treatise for the Reformation of Ireland 1554-1555," *Irish Jurist*, Vol. 16 (1981), 299-315. For discussion of New English political views, see Nicholas Canny, "Dominant Minorities: English Settlers in

principles, shaped one's allegiance. There was no one stance shared by all within one cultural group, nor was there was one stance that was the exclusive property of a sole political group.

While Thomas Radclyffe, the Earl of Sussex, admitted in 1560 that he had often wished Ireland "to be sunk in the sea," England could not abandon this difficult Norman inheritance by the time of the Tudors in the sixteenth century.[25] Unlike the riches that were pouring into the Spanish treasury from New World explorations, little profit or glory was to be found in conquering what the English viewed as a barbaric wilderness. However, as England's first colony, Ireland would serve as the model for what English colonization would mean and how it would be applied in her future colonies.

Henry VIII was able to undertake a more direct and forceful control of Irish affairs as he was no longer as reliant on the assistance of the Hiberno-Norman lords. The experiences of men such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert led to the rejection of the early English policy of separating Hiberno-Norman and Irish populations. This change in control was also due to a new type of English official, who was more self-consciously English than previous English colonists and who was – for the most part – Protestant.

Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650," in A.C. Hepburn (ed.), *Minorities in History: Historical Studies XII* (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), 51-69; Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: The Pattern of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650," in K.R. Andrews (ed.), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 17-44. For a discussion of Gaelic political responses, see Kenneth Nichols, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972); Mary O'Dowd, "Land Inheritance in Early Modern Sligo," *Irish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 10 (1983): 5-18.

[25] Thomas Radclyffe was the third earl of Sussex (c. 1525 – 9 June 1583). He served as the Lord-Deputy of Ireland from 1556 to 1558 and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1560 to 1564. [James F. Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 146.]

Tudor Ireland existed as two states, living side by side. Contemporary Englishmen divided those who lived outside the Pale between "English rebels" – Hiberno-Norman lords who had adopted Gaelic ways – and "Irish enemies," whose society was still one based on Brehon law. While many Irish lords recognized that the new policy of the Tudors sought to deny them their distinctiveness and wipe out their independence, Henry VIII hoped to arrange the affairs of Ireland peaceably. Preferring persuasion over war, his policy of surrender and regrant would bear fruit. Henry was seeking to bring about a revolution by attempting to substitute for the "sundry sorts" of people who made up the Irish population – Hiberno-Normans and Gaelic Irish – one class only, the king's subjects only, all of whom would be anglicized.[26]

For Tudor England, the Irish rebellion of the 1590s was the greatest threat yet to English domination of the island.[27] Led by Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, these chieftains feared that Elizabeth I's goal was a complete conquest of Ireland, including Ulster. An alliance of Ulster chiefs began the rebellion in 1595, with several initial successes. However, by 1600, with the instatement of Lord Mountjoy as Lord Deputy of Ireland and Sir George Carew as President of Munster, the tide began to turn against the Irish rebels. With the province of Munster laid waste, the support that the rebels needed was broken. The

[26] "…that they should be as it were of sundry sorts, or rather of sundry countries, where indeed they be wholly together one body, whereof his highness is the only head under God." ["An Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language," *Statutes of Ireland, 1537*, in *The Statutes at Large, Passed in the Parliament held in Ireland*. Vol. I (Dublin: Boulter Grierson, 1765), 119-127.]

[27] For further information about the Nine Year War including the battle of Kinsale, see Standish O'Grady, *Pacata Hibernia: or, A History of the Wars in Ireland During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Especially Within the Province of Munster Under the Government of Sir George Carew and Compiled By His Direction and Appointment* (London: Downey, 1896); Hiriam Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale* (Dublin: Wordwell, 2004); Hiriam Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Year War in Tudor Ireland* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1993); Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London: Constable, 1996).

only hope for O'Neill was the arrival of foreign aid from Spain. However, after a force of four thousand Spaniards landed at Kinsale, in Cork, the English would win a decisive battle there on Christmas Eve, 1601. The Spanish had come too late and landed too far away from the center of Irish resistance in Ulster. Combined with the fact that the Irish were neither well-armed nor experienced, the Irish would lose the war. The retreat of the Irish forces north, when combined with the English scorched earth strategy, led to further Irish losses. While the newly crowned James (James VI, crowned King of Scotland in 1567 and crowned James I, King of England in 1603) would settle the conflict with the Gaelic lords in the hopes of ending a draining war, a lack of trust on both sides continued. In 1607, O'Neill and approximately ninety of the Gaelic leaders would leave Ireland for mainland Europe in search of support against England. This self-imposed exile of the Gaelic Irish leaders accelerated the decline of the Gaelic Irish way of life.

Gender Beyond the Pale

During the Tudor period, gender became a major focal point in colonial exchanges and contestations for power. As the English expanded their presence in Ireland, gender and racial prejudice converged in attitudes towards Irish women. Cultural differences in gendered divisions of labor, sexual practices, and other signifiers of gender identity influenced how the English and Gaelic peoples perceived each other. During this violent century, England was increasingly dominating Ireland while local lords continued to fight each other for control of specific areas. According to Edmond Spenser, the "proper law was the tooth for a tooth" among

the native Irish.[28] Indeed, because of the extreme localism, it is difficult to define precisely the nature of the power and practice of the Gaelic chieftaincy.

This localism within Gaelic politics was partly responsible for enabling an unusual figure to achieve power and authority in sixteenth-century Ireland. Considered by at least one Englishman as the "most famous femynyne sea capten," Gráinne Ní Mháille lived in this transitional period between Irish medieval life and the Irish under English law.[29] A powerful figure, Gráinne allowed neither social nor political convention to deter her in a period when women commonly lacked both political and economic power. A contemporary male detractor claimed she was "a woman who overstepped the part of womanhood."[30] This "notorious woman" was able to achieve and hold a man's position while maximizing and utilizing her femininity.[31] Gráinne had both power and authority – her shaping of political events was formally recognized and legitimated by the English as well as by the men who chose to follow her leadership. While this Irish woman manipulated events in order to claim a position unusual for women, Gráinne does not seem to have advanced the positions of other women. She did not raise her daughter to follow her example; rather, she used her daughter's marriage to further her own position. Gráinne's motivation was survival, rather than dynastic ambition.

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[28] Walter Savage Landor, *A Conference of Master Edmund Spenser, a Gentleman of Note, with the Earl of Essex* (1595). Reprint: *Citation and examination of William Shakespeare, Euseby Treen, Joseph Carnaby and Silas Gough ... before ... Sir Thomas Lucy ... touching deer stealing. To which is added a conference of Master Edmund Spenser with the Earl of Essex touching the state of Ireland* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834), 255.

[29] Sidney, *Sidney Letters and Memorials of State, Written and Collected by Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Phillip Sidney and his brother Sir Robert Sidney,* A. Collins (ed.) (London, 1746), Letter to Walsingham, March 1, 1583.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Sidney, *Sidney Letters and Memorials of State,* 653.

Sixteenth-century English policies – particularly the use of martial law in the suppression of possible dissent – had alienated and often united leading Hiberno-Norman magnates and native Irish rulers. Yet, Gráinne was able to maneuver through the murky waters of Irish politics, while continuing to support her family and clan by both sea and land ventures. Gráinne became so powerful that in 1574 the English attempted to seize her castle, Carraigahowley Castle (Rockfleet Castle). After eighteen days of siege, Gráinne turned the tide and forced the English to retreat. However, within several years, the situation in Ireland forced her to acquiesce to the Crown. Then, in 1578, she was captured and presented to Lord Justice Drury, the English President of Munster. He described her as "a woman that hath impudently passed the part of womanhood and been a great spoiler and chief commander and director of thieves and murderers at sea."[32] She remained imprisoned in Dublin Castle for over two years. Through shrewd political bargaining, Gráinne eventually secured her own release and, by 1580, she and her second husband Risdeárd an Iarainn Bourke were back in the Crown's good graces. Under English law, Bourke would be installed as the MacWilliam and was knighted by the English a year later – making Gráinne Lady Bourke. Shortly thereafter, Richard-in-Iron Bourke died of natural causes, leaving Gráinne as the sole leader of her men.[33]

Gráinne's strategy was one of survival and, as an astute chieftain, she capitalized on her association with elements in the English administration to strengthen her own political leadership as well as her family's place within Gaelic society. Gráinne Ní Mháille's actions were the products of the complex social and cultural interactions that were taking place amongst the

[32] *Calendar of State Papers of Ireland*, 63/19/56.

[33] G.E. Cokayne, Vicary Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White, Duncan Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden (eds.), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, 13 volumes (London: The St. Catherine Press, Ltd., 1912), Volume VIII, 604.

Gaelic Irish, Hiberno-Norman, and English populations of Ireland. As the newly arrived English population of the sixteenth century sought greater control over Ireland, the Gaelic Irish often resisted these attempts. Siding at times with the colonizers and at times with the colonized, the Hiberno-Normans worked to formalize hegemony into empire, even while simultaneously contesting the development of metropolitan control. Thus, both colonizers and colonized fashioned novel responses to the extension of English and European influences throughout the Atlantic world during the early modern age.

Gráinne Ní Mháille, a leader of both men and women, sought to shape her own destiny during the sixteenth century. While biographer Anne Chambers' research has helped to salvage Gráinne from the folklore that surrounds her, the role she played in sixteenth-century Tudor Ireland and in the colonial discourse merits further study. This sixteenth-century "Mistress of the Western Waves" demonstrated the skills that some women were able to master and showed what was attainable in that age. Through her maritime ventures, Gráinne connected Ireland with mainland Europe. She personally encountered the woman who gave the period one of its names, Elizabeth I. She traveled to Spain for trade and hired mercenaries from Scotland. This dissertation will demonstrate how through the fashioning of novel ways of projecting and communicating power, women like Gráinne Ní Mháille served not only as potent vehicles for the promotion of female empowerment, but also as oppositional focal points challenging the patriarchal hierarchy that was embedded within the worlds of colonizer and colonized

Role of Women

Within the early modern period, upper-class women had a political and economic impact on their societies. Women like Elizabeth I, Catherine de Medici, and Kristina Vasa successfully

traversed the boundaries dictated by men to lay claim to both power and authority. They became leaders as well as equals to men in politics, literature, philosophy, and theology. Within this period, some women challenged traditional female roles by sidestepping cultural norms and gaining access to what were commonly considered male "virtues."

The majority of sixteenth-century women of power were women of social rank, through either family and/or marriage. Many received an atypical education because of the ferment of the Renaissance and the religious upheavals of the Reformation. While some early modern theorists supported a liberal education for upper-class girls, few recommended that leadership subjects should be taught to them.[34]

Both Elizabeth I and Gráinne exemplified the potential that education – of all kinds – could develop. Elizabeth was famous for her scholarship. From an early age, Elizabeth displayed a "quick intelligence and a good memory," which was required for the humanist education she received under her tutors.[35] While it is unclear where Gráinne was educated, her

[34] One exception was Juan Luis Vives, whose work demonstrated how women's progress beyond the private sphere was essential for the good of society and state, though he was concerned whether education would enable women to deceive men as in the manner of Eve. This manual, recognized soon after publication in 1524 as the most authoritative pronouncement on the universal education of women, argued that women were intellectually equal if not superior to men. However, Vives primarily proposed education for women to be for religious improvement; he saw no secular use of education for women. [Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth Century Manual,* Charles Fantazzi (trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).] Another notable exception was Christine de Pisan, who wrote notably on the subject of education for women for leadership roles within courtly circles. Many of de Pisan's works denounced the way women were portrayed in medieval literature. In her long poem "Letter to the God of Love," she complained that women were often described as dishonest and unreliable – "Between Mother Nature and myself / As long as the world lasts, we won't let / Them be so uncherished and unloved," she vows. She reminds her readers the single-minded loyalty of classical heroines like Penelope and of the Virgin Mary. Some modem scholars consider de Pisan to be history's first feminist. [Dale Crooke, Steve Frick, Moya Hanaway and Carolyn Major-Harper (eds.), *The Middle Ages: Creating an Environment* (Washington, D.C.: Heath and Co., 1995).]

[35] Carolly Erickson, *The First Elizabeth* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1983), 47.

history demonstrates that she had a broad base of knowledge.[36] She was well versed not only in geography, but also in the principles of navigation. She was fluent in her native tongue in addition to Latin – the language that she and Elizabeth I were supposed to have conversed in at their meeting. Sir Henry Sidney's references of her 1577 meeting and conversations with his son, the poet Sir Phillip Sidney, indicate she was also conversant in English.

However, while the education of women promoted the concept of equality, it would still have been considered a foreign idea at this time. Adam was created first and Eve from his body in order to give him comfort; she was his subordinate meant to obey him and accept her lesser status. Thus, a dominant woman was unnatural and disorderly. The accepted hierarchy of the sexes was so ingrained that it influenced the literature women studied. Thus while education appeared to have disrupted commonly held beliefs about gender by opening doors for women, it also was used as a way to reinforce those same ideals.

Imagery of the early modern period reflected the attempts by individuals to shape public personas as well as societal responses to the tensions of time. Part of the public image that Marie de' Medici presented was her adoption of the image of Minerva, which signified that the queen was the embodiment of wisdom. As the embodiment of this Roman goddess, Marie de' Medici was seen as the counterbalance to France's Henry IV's masculine role of warrior and illustrated the values of domesticity.[37] Images such the one of Marie de' Medici as Minerva appeared on

[36] Traditionally, abbeys provided not only spiritual needs, but also educational ones. The Austin Friars at Murrisk, the Franciscans at Clare and the Dominican in the neighboring barony of Burrishoole may have been possible tutors for a young Gráinne. However, there are no known records to support or disprove this theory.

[37] A French bronze coin created by Guillaume Dupré was issued in 1603 to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin. Depicting Marie de' Medici as Minerva with a helmet and shield and Henry IV as Mars, the young prince – the future Louis VIII – was shown between them as the product of their alliance. For further discussion, see Katherine B. Crawford, "The Politics of Promiscuity: Masculinity and Heroic Representation at the Court of Henry IV," French Historical Studies,

coins as well as in prints. These images reflected and promoted traditional roles and characterizations of women – wives, mothers, virgins, and widows, though often interpreting them in novel ways.

Other works of art sought to justify a woman's movement outside of typical, accepted areas of perceived female authority. Depictions of Elizabeth I record the queen's expressions of her power. On a 1571 royal grant, Nicholas Hilliard painted a miniature of Queen Elizabeth wearing the traditional regalia of a male monarch including the scepter, the ermine robe, and the orb – the symbol of world dominion.[38] Later portraits such as one attributed to George Gower emphasized her femininity through her wearing of lace and brocade.[39] The wearing of pearls, a traditional symbol of chastity, reflected her image as the Virgin Queen.

Early modern imagery often mirrored a collective anxiety over women's positions in society. A body of work responded to the opinion that having women in power was a dangerous trend. Images such as Israhel van Meckenem's *The Angry Wife*, which portrays a woman incited by a laughing devil to strike her barelegged husband with her distaff, reflect the fear of women who could not be tamed.[40] Mirrored by contemporary poetry,

> Go ahead and act like a man?
> Otherwise she'll end up riding you
> And before long she'll
> Deprive you of your pants, your purse, and your sword,
> Which will make us all ashamed of you
> Do not give her too much rein
> But rather take an oak cudgel

Vol. 26, no. 2, (Spring, 2003), 225-252; Susan Saward, *The Golden Age of Marie de' Medici* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982).

[38] Nicholas Hilliard, *Royal Grant with Miniature of Queen Elizabeth I*, 1571 (Stamford, Lincolnshire: Burghley House Collection).

[39] George Gower, *Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, c. 1588 (London: Private Collection, Courtesy of Peter Nahum at the Leicester Galleries).

[40] Israhel van Meckenem, *The Angry Wife*, Engraving, c. 1495-1503 (Art Institute Chicago).

And beat her soundly between the ears![41]

imagery such as Meckenem's engraving was meant to warn men.

Then, as now, image was critical to a woman's ability to succeed "in a man's world." Through their patronage and displays of largesse, powerful women advertised the legitimacy of their rule and enhanced popular opinion about their fitness to lead. Artists and their patrons understood that images were potent vehicles for promoting the empowerment of women. Images of heroines from the biblical and classical traditions were part of the everyday visual vocabulary of the time, providing rich material with which to affirm a woman's right to rule. While many leaders used images to create a powerful presence in courtly culture and diplomatic circles, those made anxious by the idea of women in power also turned to the visual arts to lament transgressions of the social order and to reinforce male prerogatives. Personal presentation was thus critical to even the most cursory social transaction.

Many such works were commissioned by or dedicated to female rulers, but others were part of a general response by artists to the heightened profile of women in society. This period saw a fascination with Amazons, the legendary ancient tribe of women renowned as warriors. It became fashionable among queens and noblewomen to have themselves portrayed as warriors. Such works honored the female leaders of the day and served to inspire other women to acts of valor. They were also a necessary signal that the female leaders fully comprehended and embraced the warrior role, in spite of its profound association with the male sphere, and could ensure the defense of her realm (or clan) in times of war as well as peace. However, western culture – perhaps human culture itself – has had an uneasy relationship with female power,

[41] Hans Sachs, *The Angry Wife* (1533), cited in Julia Nurse, "She-Devils, Harlots and Harridans in Northern Renaissance Prints," *History Today*, Vol. 48 (1998), no. 7: 41-48, 43.

particularly in the form of female beauty and sexual allure.[42] While Gráinne Ní Mháille impressed many, including Sir Henry Sidney, with her wit and her abilities, they were still wary of her power.

Historiography

Irish history prior to the mid-twentieth century reflected the idea that "past history was a live issue."[43] Whether the historian was a unionist or an Irish nationalist, the resulting history of this period reproduced the *pietas* of one tradition or another. The often-mythic veneration of the past demonstrated how Irish history became a political tool, allowing for the fashioning of contemporary political and cultural thought.

With the founding of the *Irish Historical Journal* in 1938, a push within the field of Irish history began in which scholars attempted to be non-sectarian and politically non-partisan. This "new" history approach focused on stepping away from a traditionally nationalist view of history. This revisionist attitude continued through the 1960s, even as historians of other European countries began to integrate other disciplines' methodologies into their work as they created new theoretical methods. While this "new" Irish history attempted to destroy "myths and untruths," it failed to meet Ireland's "felt need for mythologies, heroic lineages, dreams of continuity; in short, the need, expressed by different generations, in individual ways, to colonize

[42] Annette Dixon, *Women Who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art* (London: Merrell Publishers, 2002); Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997); Roy C. Strong, *The Elizabethan Image: Painting in England, 1540-1620* (New York: Tate Gallery, 1969).

[43] Roy Foster, "The Problems of Writing Irish History," *History Today*, Vol. 34, no. 1 (Jan. 1984): 27-30, 27.

historical territory and repossess it."[44] Rather than denying or destroying those myths, historian Christine Kinealy has argued for the need to explain and deconstruct these myths.[45] This idea was demonstrated when scholars of this "new" Irish history published a multi-volume and multi-authored work in the 1970s that was described by them as a definitive record of Irish history. This work – especially the third volume – prompted a flood of scholarly responses and criticisms that invigorated the field.[46]

This new "new" Irish history allowed for a level of complexity that was missing from the earlier revisionist version. Contrary to both the earlier revisionist history as well as the traditional Irish nationalist approach, this latest approach to Irish history allowed for a heterogeneity within the Irish population, allowing for the exploration of differing regional responses to historical events and forces. This latest approach allowed for "more concern with process, with how and why things occurred as they did, and more interest in relating them to the world outside of Ireland, to Europe and North America especially."[47] By exploring how gender and colonialism intersected in Ireland, this dissertation investigates how power functioned in and flowed through Irish society. The starting premise is that both men and women are actors in the construction of their society and thus both are influenced by the period's ideologies while challenging and resisting those assumptions and beliefs. By using the lens of gender, this

[44] Seamus Deane, *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* (Derry: Field Day Co. 1991), Vol. 1, xxiv.

[45] Christine Kinealy, "Beyond Revisionism: Reassessing the Great Irish Famine," *History Ireland*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 28-34.

[46] Karl S. Bottigheimer, "The New New Irish History," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (Jan. 1988): 72-79.

[47] Ibid., 79.

dissertation investigates how the roles, ideas, and representations that governed Tudor Ireland were constructed, negotiated, and made visible.

Scholars have recovered two different and often contradictory views of early modern Ireland – that Ireland was both a kingdom in which a culturally undifferentiated society existed and a colony with opportunities for political and economic gain for those willing to take it. Historian Karl Bottigheimer has contended that the model of Ireland as a kingdom collapsed due to a growing sense that Ireland was ripe for colonial exploitation.[48] Expanding upon this point, historians Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie have asserted there were elements of colonization from the moment that the Crown attempted to constitute Ireland as a kingdom. Ireland was a constitutional anomaly – neither kingdom nor colony. This incongruity argues for the equivocacy of political intent and interactions, which created a fundamental breakdown between the Crown and its representatives and the various native communities in the late sixteenth century. As Brady and Gillespie have argued, "the contours of the relationship can only be traced by the analysis of individual instances, at specific times and in particular places."[49]

Sixteenth-century female rulers such as Elizabeth I and Marie de' Medici were recognized in their own time as holding power and authority. Yet while examples abound concerning their importance and the recognition given to them by men, prior to the 1970s, historians had done little research as to how these women achieved and maintained such power.

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[48] See Karl Bottigheimer, "Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise 1536-1660," in K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny and P.E. Hair (eds.), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978).

[49] Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie, *Natives and Newcomers: Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1986), 17.

Rather, these historians had simply emphasized the familial ties these women had as an explanation of their historical prominence. However, the importance of these women as individuals has slowly emerged as recent historians have sought to recover their stories. Often, though, the search for their silent voices has overlooked the overarching historical narratives. In order to recognize not only the contributions made to history by these particular women, but also to place the roles of women in general within a broader context, studies such as this dissertation must look at how individuals have transcended gender lines and how that transmission has affected society as a whole as well as being a reflection of that society.

English administrators in Ireland kept voluminous records of their administrations. These papers, preserved in The National Archives in Britain, are encapsulated in the *Calendars of State Papers*. They document the actions and, at times, thoughts of those making governmental decisions. These records include letters between officials concerning both foreign and domestic issues. In addition, sixteenth-century collections such as the *Sidney Papers* and the *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts* expand the knowledge found within the State Papers with personal letters and papers. In addition to correspondence between the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the English Crown, a significant amount of communication concerning Gráinne directly exists between the Governor of Connaught, Richard Bingham, and the Crown. This English administrator believed that Gráinne represented all that was wrong with Ireland. However, the earliest biographical and only autobiographical account of Gráinne was the response she made to the *Articles of Interrogatory* in July 1593. The aforementioned collections of historical documents reveal more distinctly English bureaucratic attitudes towards not only Gráinne, but also Ireland.

Complementing the formal sources is an abundance of folklore and later literature focused on the figure of Gráinne. While some of these narratives about Gráinne have been noted and referenced in modern histories, they have mainly been studied only as examples of period literature. These folkloric sources should be examined and placed within a larger historical framework focused around gender, colonialism, and post-colonialism. This dissertation seeks to redress this omission, as the collection of poetry and music about Gráinne can add an element otherwise lacking within English administrative sources. By recognizing the symbolic practices, such as the language and imagery used within these sources, we can study the creation of culture, both political and social. In many ways, symbolic practices – including the use of certain rhetoric as well as the spread of certain symbols and stories – drives the development of culture by giving it a sense of unity and purpose.[50] How the societies of sixteenth-century Ireland and subsequent centuries recognized and remembered Gráinne Ní Mháille speaks to the difference in reception of new practices and stories and their impact on political and social cultures.

Within the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, much of Irish scholarship has focused on colonialism and its legacies in Ireland, partly as a response to the sectarian violence of the twentieth century. The past three decades have seen a significant attempt to understand the complexities of Irish identity, history, and culture. These critical perspectives on the ideologies and practices of colonialism act as a critique of the power structure, challenging the binary categories of a homogenous colonizer and colonized. Through the lenses of gender, class, and racialized forms of power, the inadequacies of simple models of power, culture, and identity have been uncovered. Ideas developed by Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Spivak

[50] Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

involving the reclamation of local, regional, and national forms of expression have demonstrated how new history does not represent a complete separation from colonial histories, but rather a dialogue between colonizers and colonized that allows for the giving of a voice to the silenced "Other."[51] Exploring this idea by looking at the intersection of post-colonialism and the role of women, Mary Condren's work on Celtic myth and religion has discussed the issues of the double silencing of Irish women – based on both their gender and their race – in post-colonial terms.[52] Her ideas, which overlap with those of Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, challenge modern scholars to investigate the influence that gendered metaphors have had on the creation of the politics of national difference as seen within Irish literature and popular culture.[53] In light of the idea that gender is a "primary way of signifying relationships of power," Ireland's gendering evokes multiple (and often contradictory) representations.[54] Readers of texts can discern the attitudes of contemporary writers about Ireland through the feminine construction of ideas such as landscape, race, identity, and memory.

While research exists on the subject of female leadership, few studies have considered Gráinne and her role within this transitional period in Irish history. Typically, references to Grainne are found only in mainstream literature or in an amalgamation of Irish luminaries with little scholarly focus solely on her. Yet in recent years, Grainne's story has experienced a

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[51] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978); Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993); Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Post-Colonialist Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

[52] Mary Condren, *The Serpent and the Goddess: Women, Religion, and Power in Celtic Ireland* (San Francisco: Harper, 1989).

[53] Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, *Ireland's Others: Gender and Ethnicity in Irish Literature and Popular Culture* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).

[54] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 43-44.

revival in the collective consciousness and in the historical narrative. Is it because she was Irish, female, a leader – all of these or none of these – that she has kindled the popular imagination?

One of the most recent biographies of Gráinne Ní Mháille is Anne Chambers' *Granuaile: Ireland's Pirate Queen c.1530-1603*.[55] Chambers, a writer and lecturer, first wrote *Granuaile* in 1979 and it has been printed seven times since then. According to her online biography, "Making the past accessible, as well as adjusting history's glaring gender imbalance, has been my motivation, especially with the biographies."[56] Chambers, who has a master's degree in history from National University of Ireland, based her work on research into the archives including Gráinne's two petitions to Queen Elizabeth as well as on poetry and genealogy. While Chambers' archival research shaped the work, the author did recreate conversations between historical characters. This work was written for a general audience, with little to no background in Irish history. Chambers has also written *Granuaile: Sea Queen of Ireland*, a biography of Gráinne for young adults.[57]

Judith Cook has also written a biography of Gráinne, titled *Pirate Queen: The Life of Grace O'Malley*.[58] The author, a crime writer and investigative reporter, wanted to introduce Gráinne to a larger audience – "Renowned now in legend, ballad, poetry and even music in her own country, Grace O'Malley remains surprisingly unknown outside of it."[59] Aimed at a

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[55] Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: Ireland's Pirate Queen* (Dublin, Ireland: Wolfhound Press, 2003).

[56] "Anne Chambers: Granuaile – Grace O'Malley, Ireland's Pirate Queen," last modified February 13, 2013, http://archive.today/jIcKh. Accessed January 7, 2014.

[57] Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: Sea Queen of Ireland* (Cork, Ireland: Collins Press, 2006).

[58] Judith Cook, *Pirate Queen: The Life of Grace O'Malley* (Cork, Ireland: Mercier Press, 2004).

[59] Ibid., vii.

popular audience as can be seen in the lack of footnotes, this work is a general introduction to both Gráinne Ní Mháille and sixteenth-century Ireland, rather than a scholarly work.

Many authors have written fiction based around the historical figure of Gráinne, since they see her as a strong woman, as well as recognizing that the public often views piracy as romantic and/or heroic. These authors include Morgan Llywelyn, who wrote a popular historical novel titled *Grania: She-King of the Irish Seas*.[60] This fictional work exemplifies the idea of piracy as heroic – "Piracy in the sixteen century was almost a noble profession, with great buccaneers elevated to the status of national heroes…"[61] Based loosely on Gráinne, this book is highly fictionalized with characters created as needed by the author. In this sense, her work is similar to Hugo Gerstl's *Amazing Grace: The Story of Grace O'Malley, the Notorious Pirate Woman.*[62]

Several historians have included Gráinne Ní Mháille in broader surveys, especially ones focused on some aspect of women's history. Joan Druett, a maritime historian and novelist, has portrayed seafaring women throughout history in her book *She-Captains: Heroines and Hellions of the Sea.*[63] Within this book, her chapter on Gráinne – like that on the rest of her other female characters – is historically accurate, but lacks depth and sources. Endeavoring to introduce Gráinne and the other seafaring women to the popular imagination, her book does suggest that women such as Gráinne were not only outside of popular society, but that they were the

[60] Morgan Llywelyn, *Grania: She-King of the Irish Seas* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, LLC, 1986).

[61] Ibid., 238.

[62] Hugo Gerstl, *Amazing Grace: The Story of Grace O'Malley, the Notorious Pirate Woman* (Monterey, CA: Samuel Wachtman's Sons, Inc., 2012).

[63] Joan Druett, *She-Captains: Heroines and Hellions of the Sea* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001).

"outsiders of the outsiders." As women who deviated not only from the gender norms of contemporary society, but also from the broader social norms of right and wrong (i.e. piracy), seafaring women such as Grainne were viewed as not simply committers of crimes, but rather as underdogs who led insurrections against a repressive society.

Anne Chambers has also contributed a short chapter on Gráinne Ní Mháille to the collection *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages.*[64] Her earlier mentioned biography of the Irish pirate queen was the basis of this chapter. Jo Stanley, the editor of *Bold in Her Breeches*, has described this volume as arguing against the simplistic idea that women pirates were glamorous and/or representative of Girl Power. Rather, this collection about the thirteen best-known female pirates was based on serious scholarship within the fields of maritime history and gendered mobility, at the same time as being presentable to the general public.[65] While the audience for Stanley's collection of essays is not necessarily academics, Stanley and the other authors endeavor to salvage these women from being merely mythical figures by showing their places in history and roles within their contemporary societies.

Prior to the 1970s, there was a paucity of sources on the role of women in Irish society. However, scholars during the last few decades have begun to explore the indigenous and external influences on women's lives. Even though they are now recognized as complex historical agents, Irish women have yet to be placed into broader English and European contexts. Both Ciaran Brady and Mary O'Dowd have commented on this male reluctance to acknowledge the

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[64] Jo Stanley, *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages* (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 1996).

[65] Jo Stanley, "And after the Cross-Dressed Cabin Boys and Whaling Wives? Possible Futures for Women's Maritime Historiography," *The Journal of Transport History*, Vol. 23, no. 1 (Mar. 2002): 9-22, 9.

political role of women.[66] Scholars have argued that the absence of reference to women in politics is much more striking than their presence, and that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that they had very little to do with the conduct of public life. Brady counters this contention by asserting that ambivalence characterized much of contemporary commentary on women in politics – a clear recognition of the importance and necessity of their role coupled with an attempt to delimit and subordinate it.[67] In the past, the lack of historical and scholarly references had left women silent and invisible within Irish history. By helping to delineate the areas of female social latitude, subjection, and power, Margaret MacCurtain and other recent historians have endeavored to reinsert women back into these historical dialogues. MacCurtain has sought to give voice to women by including them in the study of the effects and developments that the changing politics of the English crown had on the introduction of English law and administration in Ireland. She investigated how the Norman invasion and its subsequent social and cultural challenges to Gaelic Ireland affected the comparatively advanced status of Gaelic Irish women. O'Dowd expanded on this argument in her examination of the disruptions of sixteenth and seventeenth-century conflict in Ireland that allowed for independent action by women as well as the assumption of the responsibility for "work and services normally monopolized by men."[68]

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[66] Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536-1588* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Brady and Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers;* Mary O'Dowd, *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500-1800* (New York: Longman, 2004); O'Dowd and Margaret MacCurtain, *Women in Early Modern Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

[67] Ciaran Brady, "Political Women and Reform in Tudor Ireland," in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 69-90.

[68] Mary O'Dowd, "Women and War in Ireland in the 1640s," in O'Dowd and Margaret MacCurtain (eds.), *Women in Early Modern Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 91-112, 91.

This project seeks to build upon this research by exploring the complexity of colonial relations and their broader structures. By investigating how femininity challenged both English dominance and Irish resistance, this dissertation explores gendered differentiation of privilege and power among the colonizer and colonized.

Theoretical Framework

A critical dimension within discourse on colonization both then and now was gender. By the early modern period, a debate raged in Europe regarding nature and ability. Based on historically created forms of knowledge, early modern conceptions of gender constituted social relations founded on the perceived differences between the sexes. Thus, this construction was a way of connoting relationships of power.[69] In bringing the people and land of Ireland under rule, the English mapped divisions of culture and gender onto Ireland's landscape. This mapping can be studied through a social history of the gendering of an island and its people as illustrated by the life of the sixteenth-century Irish figure of Gráinne Ní Mháille. This project examines how the roles of landscape and race, the creation of Irishness, and the function of memory created and challenged gender roles that were imposed – internally and externally – on the Irish. This dissertation illustrates how the English attempted to transform Ireland and her people into a feminized race in need of colonial protection and the Irish response to this silencing. This discourse on gender-expressed colonial concerns would continue to unfold throughout Irish history.

[69] See Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

According to theorist Joan W. Scott, gender resists the "reduction of social relations to physical sexual differences."[70] In this theory, gender is an acquired trait – men and women act differently mainly because they are socialized to do so. Gender is no longer seen as rigid, but rather a fluid concept which is altered depending on the context and the time. Expanding this idea, gender theorist Judith Butler argues that "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; ...identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results."[71] Gender is a performance – it is what you do at particular times, rather than a universal who you are. Moreover, the question is not whether one does gender performance, but rather what form those performances take. Thus, cultural meanings of gender, as ascribed to human bodies, are not inherent attributes of either personhood or subjectivity, but rather are a set of secondary narrative effects.

This project seeks to decolonize Irish history in an effort to rethink its history from outside the hegemonic power structure of England. Subaltern studies contend that historians are forced to look closely at sources as well as to determine what the subject of the history is. By reconfiguring the relationship of historical subjects, the "notion of what the work cannot say becomes important," allowing the subalterns to emerge from the discourses' "silences and blindness."[72] This project seeks to deconstruct texts, allowing for those who have been silenced such as Irish women to have "some autonomy from elite culture and… a unity and solidarity of

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[70] Joan W. Scott, *Millennial Fantasies: The Future of "Gender" in the 21st Century* (Kharkov Center for Gender Studies, April 15, 2004), http://www.kcgs.org.ua/RUSSIAN/text.html.

[71] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 25.

[72] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 24-28, 28; Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1475-1490, 1482.

[their] own."[73] This proposal endorses a more serious look at the power relations that underwrite all documents, while attempting not to lose the internal tensions, nuances and contradictions "in favor of defining *the* correct way" of history. [74]

Female leaders such as Gráinne Ní Mháille and Elizabeth I were able to gain access to "virtues" that had otherwise been only available to men. They performed the necessary tasks – such as political leadership – that accompanied these "virtues" so well that these women could not be considered failures in their "manly" performances. These women challenged contemporary society's idea of gender, in which gender signified the "social construction of an individual's identity as a woman or man."[75] Gender was thus a product of culture, differing from "sex," based on biological difference. According to Kathleen M. Brown, this biological distinction fails to acknowledge the mechanism through which categories of gender appear transcendent – "the claim to be rooted in unnatural changing differences between men and women."[76] Cross-cultural comparisons allow for the study of the forms in which domination – including that of colonialism – brought culturally diverse people into intimate contact. Cultural differences in gendered divisions of labor, sexual practices, and other signifiers of gender identity influenced how European and indigenous peoples perceived each other. Consequently, gender becomes a major focal point in colonial exchanges and contestations for power.

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[73] Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1497.

[74] Ibid., 1499, 1501.

[75] Kathleen M. Brown, "Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser., Vol. 50, no. 2 (Apr., 1993): 311-328, 313.

[76] Ibid.

Folklore as a Historical Artifact

Power relations construct and communicate the changing use of gender partly through a society's use of language, which "creates the world and frames the truths that can be told."[77] Linguistic resources shape and maintain gender order and its categorization, while promoting gender ideologies. Folklore as well as the literature of later periods helped to maintain the cultural fiction of what made a woman and what made a man, which was linked to the differences between colonizer and colonized. In *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes has discussed how myths reveal that which appears to be natural is in fact determined by culture.[78] Myths that occur in everyday life help to construct a world for people as well as their place within it. The object of its message does not define myth, but rather the way the message is uttered and written characterizes myth. Thus, the sexual politics of the public sphere – images of femininity and the role of women – can be historically related to the elements that contemporary writers felt were necessary in stories about Gráinne and demonstrate the roles women were expected to play versus the roles they may have assumed.

Because official documents and reports often fail to allude to or focus on the roles women play in society, the use of alternative sources is necessary. Folklore, though subjective, is a product of discourses available to the narrator, at the point of both experience and recollection; if each story is unique, then the way it is remembered and reconstructed is collective.[79] Using cultural stereotypes and available discourses, the articulation and

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[77] Mary Gergen, *Feminist Reconstructions in Psychology: Narrative, Gender, and Performance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2001), 43.

[78] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers (trans.) (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972).

[79] Mary Chamberlain, "Gender and Memory," in Verene Shepherd, Bridget Breton and Barbara Bailey (eds.), *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

understanding of one's experiences can be expressed through the telling of stories. Thus, while folkloric sources cannot claim to be telling the objective truth of "how it really was," they are telling the truth as imagined or perceived.

A common characteristic of folklore is its transmission by oral means. For this dissertation, the definition of folklore is as verbal art – tales, folk song, poetry, and the like.[80] The value of verbal art depends on our perceptions of what or whom history is about and for what it is. Arguably, though, it can offer unique opportunities and insights. As supporters of oral history have maintained, the spoken word gives voice to individuals and/or groups marginalized in "conventional" histories and offers alternative explanations and different insights. According to folklorists, the spoken word often expresses feelings and emotions with a deeper impact and immediacy than a written version can. While historians understand that verbal records are not perfect due to the foibles of the human mind, verbal art can provide critical links between public and private histories.

Some scholars argue that oral histories are unreliable since they allow for a subjective understanding of history. They assert that memory can be distorted – by nostalgia, by personal bias as well as by the collective understanding of the past.[81] Yet, cannot this very "unreliability" become the basis for a better understanding of how the past becomes entangled in the future? Oral traditions can prove to be a useful tool in which people make sense of their past – how they connect individual experience with a larger social meaning. People are able to utilize the past as

[80] Rosan A. Jordan and Susan J. Kalcik, *Women and the Study of Folklore* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 500.

[81] Alistair Thomson, "Making the Most of Memories: The Empirical and Subjective Value of Oral History," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: Volume 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 291-301, 291.

a way to interpret the world currently around them. Oral tradition illuminates the essential connections between language, history, and contemporary identity.

By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, poetry and literature would build upon the foundation that folklore created within popular society. Thus, for this project, a reading of the literature about myth and language and their connections with history was necessary since language, thought, and institutions sustain cultural fictions. Scholarship, such as Kathleen Wilson's research on the eighteenth century, suggests that print media allowed for the dissemination of information that "stabilized a vernacular language" as well as colloquial ideas.[82]

Divided into four sections, this project addresses the struggle for power and identity woven into Irish history. Grounding this project in the Tudor era, I explore how gender and race became interconnected and how those connections shaped Ireland not only in the sixteenth century, but also well into modern times. Chapter 1 investigates how the process of Tudor colonization shaped the landscape of Ireland. Through the gendered discourse of English colonization, the feminization of the land itself supported English beliefs regarding their rights to control the land. The practices of English colonization were carved into the landscape. Chapter 2 continues this examination of the gendered colonial discourse by recognizing race as an added element in this discourse. Like the land they lived on, the Irish were perceived as wild and in need of English civility. This chapter explores how the Irish were perceived by the English as not only a separate race, but also as a feminized one. Chapter 3 is a study of how the same feelings of attraction and revulsion that the English had towards the land became focused on Irish women, such as Gráinne Ní Mháille. The contemporary discussion about "disorderly"

[82] Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

women recognized that they disrupted accepted hierarchies and challenged English colonization and hegemony. Chapter 4 continues this idea of disruption by exploring how collective memory shaped the future of Irish nationalism. Paralleling the Irish struggle to resist colonization, Gráinne Ní Mháille's life became symbolic of Ireland's search for identity. Poets and writers would imagine and reimagine her in order to express the hopes and fears of their time.

Colonizers such as England saw the physical differences with which the Other could be defined as signs of inferiority. Ironically, in creating this sense of femininity as a "negating activity… [which is] a third person consciousness," it is the self-consciousness of these discernible differences – such as gender – that led to its opposition.[83] English use of gender created not only an illusion of Irish weakness and a lack of power, but also a means of controlling a society and a nation. Yet within Ireland, the setting aside of these boundaries by people like Gráinne Ní Mháille demonstrates the mutability of the very roles of colonizer and colonized.

[83] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 321.

"The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring."
Edmund Spenser, *Epithalamion (1595)*

Chapter 1 A Gendered Land: English Perceptions of Ireland

Landscapes are constantly being shaped and reshaped as people's understanding of the world around them evolves. Landscapes are not so much a record, but rather a constant recording of human interaction. Whether eliciting a memory or enabling (or blocking) actions, a landscape acts as more than a reflection of the cultural meanings of time and space. Rather, landscape as a temporal and perpetual feature conveys its own social and political charge. Its very dimension applies pressure to its human denizens, shaping their political, social, and economic systems as well as their very perceptions of themselves. Landscape becomes a nexus of contested meaning as people engage with landscape, thus creating a sense of place and belonging. Landscape offers a lens through which historical change can be studied. As geographer E. Estyn Evans has argued about the Irish landscape in particular, "Ireland is a land where the past is ever present, both in the minds of men and in the landscape."[1] Historian J.C. Beckett in his inaugural lecture at Queens University, Belfast furthered this thesis:

> The history of Ireland must be based on a study of the relationships between the land and the people. It is in Ireland itself, the physical conditions inspired by life

[1] E. Estyn Evans, *Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland* (London: BT. Batsford, 1966). E. Estyn Evans studied environment as a factor in human history. In his study of anthropogeography, which was similar to that of H.J. Fleure and Carl O. Sauer, he argued for "the cause of a trilogy of regional studies, of habitat, heritage, and history: that is of geography, anthropology… and recoded history... [which should] impenetrate rather than amalgamate." [E. Estyn Evans, *The Personality of Ireland: Habitat, Heritage and History* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1992), 2.] While some of the ideas discussed by Evans such as "evolution" and "survivals" are now associated with outdated theories that once legitimated imperialism and racism, Evans' interdisciplinary work in geography, history, and folklore still contributes to our understanding of culture and its relationship with to the physical landscape. For further discussion of this idea, see Ray Cashman, "E. Estyn Evans and His Lasting Importance to the Study of Folklore," *Folklore Forum*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (1996): 3-19.

> in this country and the effect on those who have lived there, that the historian will find the distinct and continuing character of Irish history.[2]

Ireland presents a particular case where landscape and cultural identity became both deeply entwined as a singular entity in the minds of contemporary Englishmen and complicated by the peoples of Ireland, who fashioned their identities from such diverse sources as family, clan, skill, and religion. The many different physical manifestations of the Irish landscape became interwoven with its many peoples, complicating efforts to see the Irish as a single people and bolstering commonplace assumptions about the ways landscape shaped character. In the case of Ireland, colonial tropes about savagery and civility as well as femininity and masculinity became complicated. Consequently, landscape became a central term not only in geographical studies, but also in the discourse concerning the relation between the natural environment and human society through time.

Ireland's rugged coastline, dotted with many islands and peninsulas, was shaped by the ocean. To declare that Ireland is an island is to state a rather obvious geographical fact. However, this fact defined (and continues to define) the political and economic life of this island – just as it also did so for England. With English thought defining an "island race" as a single island entity, the English sought to impose that same meaning onto their neighboring island, by applying similar concepts of nature and femininity, though much more aggressively.[3] By contrast, natives of Ireland inhabited what they perceived as a series of smaller interconnected landscapes. The waterways were a crucial element in communication that allowed for a

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[2] J.C. Beckett, *The Study of Irish History* (Belfast: Queen's University, 1963), 17. Beckett, along with scholars such as T.W. Moody, was part of twentieth century "new" history approach to Irish scholarship.

[3] For further discussion of England as an "island race," see Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), especially chapters 2 & 4.

labyrinthine network of contacts around the shores and across the Irish Sea. Walter Fitzgerald, probably Ireland's first historical geographer, argued that Ireland had close contacts by coastal routes with France, Spain, and the western Mediterranean as well as with Scotland and Scandinavia.[4] Distinguishing landscapes and therefore people as either center or periphery is a culturally perceived concept. While the distribution of landmass and waters are mere neutral facts, Ireland's geographical existence on the periphery of European world allowed sixteenth-century Englishmen to conceptualize the island and, by default, its inhabitants, as naturally and obviously marginal.

Modern theorists argue that the periphery is a discursive construct that allows for the juxtaposition of how a society understands itself through its viewing of others.[5] Working within that theory, landscapes become interwoven with cultural narratives in which geographical features stand as "monuments to the community itself, as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members' images of themselves."[6] Ireland's landscapes became more than simply the

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[4] Joe Waddell, "A Tale of Two Landscapes: the Irish Sea in Prehistory," in T. Collins (ed.), *Decoding the Landscape: Papers Read at the Inaugural Conference of the Centre for Landscape Studies Organized by Timothy Collins and Patrick Sheeran at University College Galway November 2, 1990 and Subsequent Meetings*, second revised edition (Galway: University College Galway, 1997), 36-47.

[5] See Steven G. Ellis, "Centre and Periphery in the Tudor State," in Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (eds.), *A Companion to Tudor Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 133-150; M.M. Bahktin, "Forms of time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, M. Holquist (ed.), C Emerson and M. Hoquist (trans.) (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 84-258. This argument refutes earlier twentieth century scholars that argued time stands still in peripheral areas while it moves forward – often quickly – the closer to the metropole one is. For more on this earlier view, see W.W. Lynam, "The O'Flaherty County," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 3 (June 1914): 13-40; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 59-75; Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1935).

[6] Joep Leerssen, "The Western Mirage: On the Celtic Chronotope in the European Imagination," in *Decoding the Landscape: Papers Read at the Inaugural Conference of the Centre for Landscape Studies Organized by Timothy Collins and Patrick Sheeran at University College*

reflection of its people. The hills, mountains, and lakes became not only places of physical manifestation, but of mental remembering, imposed both by those who did and by those who did not live in that space.

Embodying the very essence of its people and their chaotic society, Ireland's "wilderness" was seen by the English as the opposite of England's landscape. England would be conceptualized as an idealized Garden,

> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall.[7]

The fertile lands of Ireland, in contrast, appeared for the English to be a wild, uncultivated paradise spoilt by the barbarity of their inhabitants. The wilderness of Ireland was valuable to England for what could be made of it – not for what it was. The task of civilization was to transform this wilderness into a cultivated garden. Moreover, in this soon to be transformed world, the original inhabitants could have no place. English colonial thought, as reflected in modern writings about Anglo-American colonization, would come to see the native as "bound inextricable in a primitive environment, to be destroyed by God, Nature, and Progress to make way for Civilized Man."[8] Cultivation, in the English view, could only occur by the "weeding" of the natives and the "planting" of Englishmen. Colonization and, as a result, "civilization" would occur through surveying, mapping, and reducing wilderness to ordered topography.

Galway November 2, 1990 and Subsequent Meetings (Galway: University College Galway, 1994), 1-11, 84.

[7] William Shakespeare, *Richard II,* in Stephen Greenblatt (ed.), *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 943-1014 (2.1.42-47).

[8] Roy Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 4.

Maps authorized by the English visibly illustrate the relationship between the labeling of places and people, and their definition and representation.[9] Colonial mapping profoundly affected the landscape as the English attempted to lay claim – both physically and politically – to Ireland. Recent post-colonial approaches to the study of landscape have discussed the role of cartography, encouraging broader cultural explorations of the relationship between culture, identity, and place. As Catherine Nash has argued, cartography is a "specific form of representation within geography."[10] Places – created through living in a space – and their respective names cited on maps and surveys are indicative of the political subordination often attended by "colonial destruction, erosion, devaluation, and de-legitimization of colonized cultures."[11] The sources used for cartography often reflect the ways in which history has been rewritten, with old ways lost and recaptured through secondary memories.

Often seen as illustrating the parameters of sovereignty, political cartography became an art in which maps were redrawn in efforts to separate and distinguish communities. As classicist Christian Jacobs has explained, maps are an "archival device for objective knowledge or reality."[12] A map's content and presentation often shows the fallacy in believing it to be a neutral artifact. Rather, its depiction of reality straddles the worlds of geographical, historical, and cultural knowledge. Just as important as what a map depicts – though often more difficult to judge – is what was understood when the map was viewed. Viewing historical maps within the

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[9] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith (trans.) (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher, 1991); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 2nd edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[10] Catherine Nash, "Irish Placenames: Post-Colonial," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, Vol. 24, no. 4 (1999): 457-480, 458.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Christian Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 48 (1996): 191-198, 191.

confines of the culture that produced and used them, scholars can attempt to interpret what the cartographer was illustrating as well as how contemporary viewers understood them.

Figure 1 – The Cotton map of Ireland c. 1526. Shown here with north at the top. [British Library, Cotton MS. Augustus I.ii.21.]

As the native Irish had no tradition of cartography, early maps of the island were the prerogative of outsiders.[13] While often seen as mainly benefiting foreigners who were not

[13] Additionally, as John H. Andrews explains, "For the Anglo-Norman conquerors in Ireland, the institutions of feudalism had made a map-using bureaucracy superfluous; then feudalism gave way to anarchy and anarchy needs no maps." [J.H. Andrews, "Colonial Cartography in a European Setting: The Case of Tudor England," in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)].

intimately familiar with the land, maps created meaning layered over the daily-lived meaning of a landscape.[14] Setting a low standard of accuracy, the earliest known surviving map of Ireland, drawn from English post-medieval sources, dates from the late 1520s. Three river basins and their associated towns – all in the east and southeast – fill nearly the whole of an egg-shaped Ireland on the Cotton map. [Figure 1] While much of the map appears shadowy, those areas that are the most distinct are those territories that are facing England and that are under Hiberno-Norman and English influence – or in other words, the area of the Pale. Disclosing the level of geographical knowledge (or lack thereof), the Cotton map illustrates the gulf that existed between England's desire to rule Ireland and its current (lack of) ability at that point in time.[15]

The Cotton map reminds viewers that maps do not simply mirror or reflect the conquest of Ireland, but rather were instruments of conquest and colonization, exploitation and transformation. Showing a number of castles – including those belonging to the powerful Earl of Kildare, the Cotton Map depicts a geo-political situation in which local lordships challenged the Crown's power. While attempting to delineate borders and boundaries, early modern maps often became a gendered envisioning of and about nation and empire. More than simply enclosing and defining territory, map lines served as attempts to regulate and reproduce dominance. In a map, movement not only across and within a circumscribed area, but also beyond it, produces the area that is bound. These boundaries "produce and regulate distinctions between what is inside and

[14] John Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), Mark Netzloff (ed.) (London: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009).

[15] Intended for government and administrative purposes, the Cotton Map of Ireland was part of Sir Robert Cotton's project to establish a national library comprised of sources illustrating the history and achievements of the English. ["Cotton Map of Ireland, c. 1526," British Library, Cotton MS. Augustus I.ii.21.]

outside; the movement of things across a boundary signals not its failure but its success."[16] By granting the map's reader the ability to move freely across and between landscapes and territories, the Cotton map presented the English with a marker of power. English maps transformed the Irish landscape into an entity that could be comprehended, colonized, and consumed. While nowadays seen as "full of silences and absences," the Cotton map also reveals an "island in embryo."[17] As an island viewed by the English as incapable of independence, Ireland needed to be nurtured and raised up through English efforts. The Cotton map embodies early English efforts to transform Irish space into an English place.

By the late Middle Ages, the English in Ireland sought to clarify to others, and perhaps to themselves, who they were and how they came to be where they were. Did Englishness in the legal sense correspond to Englishness (or at least non-Irishness) in an ethnic sense?[18] While early on in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there is evidence of peoples of Irish origin using the courts or serving as jurors, Kenneth Nicholls argued that it was more due to status and tenure

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[16] Steven Rubenstein, "Colonialism, the Shuar Federation and the Ecuadorian State," *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space,* Vol. 19 (2001): 263–93, 289.

[17] William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes, and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c. 1530-1750* (Notre Dame, IL: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 21.

[18] Since the creation of the Pale, English law had existed in Ireland, even as the Irish Brehon legal system continued to be practiced by the native Irish. A form of Englishness was thus inherent in the English legal system. [See G. D. G. Hall (ed.), *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 2; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland,* A.B. Scott and E. X. Martin (eds.) (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 98, 142.] However, the English would hardly consider the laws of the Irish – "a people uncivilized and undisciplined," who "wander through the steeps of vice" – to be worth preservation, let alone emulation. [M.P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents Concerning Ireland, 640-1261* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1962), I, no. 6; cf. nos. 2, 4, 5, 7; Lanfranc of Bec, *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury,* Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (eds.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), nos. 9, 10.]

than origins.[19] As the system of common law became more centralized over time, cultural stereotyping became more engrained. By the end of the middle ages, a central English idea was that a line of demarcation existed between the English and Gaelic worlds that could not be blurred; the Irish had to be inside or outside.

During the Tudor era, the English state transformed from one based on the royal household into a modern bureaucratic legal form that would eventually evolve into the modern constitutional state.[20] Part of the production of that state was its evolution in the presence of an Other, whose conquest was essential to producing the control that nowadays defines national identity. Within this very process of state-making, though, England would be frustrated by Ireland, both its land and its people, as English tropes regarding savage/civilized and masculine/feminine created conflicting discourses. Yet, the English state – including its presence in Ireland – was not simply an institutional and political product, but rather "like all other states, it made assumptions – all the more fundamental for being unwritten, about the nature and distribution of wealth and its relationship to political power and responsibility."[21] Like other colonized lands, Ireland challenged its colonizer the English nation-state and the related English conceptions of order and place. English thought of the sixteenth century

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[19] Kenneth W. Nicholls, "Anglo-French Ireland and After," *Peritia*, Vol. 1 (1982): 370-403, esp. 371-376.

[20] For more discussion on this transformation and the debates surround what is often termed the "Tudor Revolution," see G.R. Elton's *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) and *England Under the Tudors* (New York: Routledge, 1991). Critics of this terminology include John Guy, *Tudor England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1988) and Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (eds.), *Revolution Reassessed: Revision in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[21] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 113.

questioned where Ireland's inhabitants fit into their naturalized conceptions of nature and society.

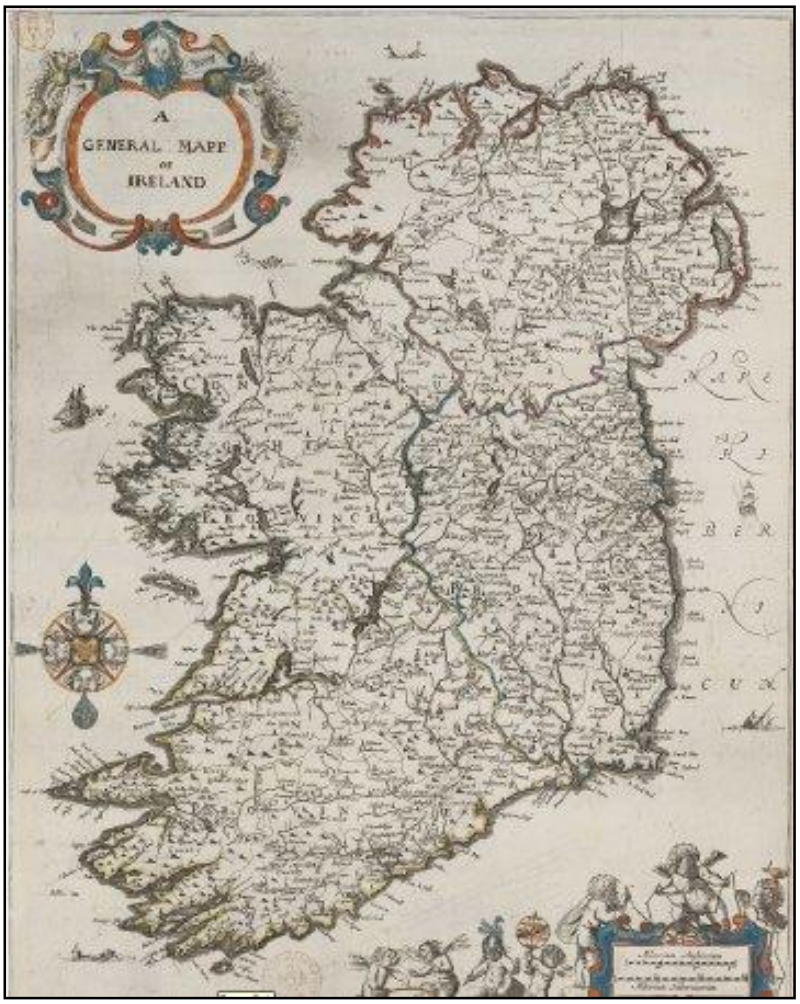

Figure 2: The Down Survey of Ireland (1656-1658)

By the seventeenth century, maps of Ireland were more detailed and precise in their imagery and English place names, showing a "normalized" Ireland that was now clearly visible and enframed on the map of Europe.[22] The *Down Survey of Ireland* (1656-1658) recorded not only town names, acreages, and territorial boundaries, but also the quality of land – pasture,

[22] As the first national scale survey of any place in the world, the Down Survey of Ireland (1656-1658) was a cadastral survey carried out by William Petty. Created as part of the re-distribution of Irish property during the Cromwellian era, these maps include descriptions at

mountain, arable, bog, etc.[23] [Figure 2] The creator of the survey, then physician-general to the Irish armies William Petty, anglicized the Irish names, though he did attempt to preserve their meanings. As the basis for the first printed atlas of Ireland, Petty's *Hiberniae Delineatio* (c. 1685), this renaming projected an implicit social hierarchy of colonizer and colonized. English cartographical practices would provide a textual tangibility in which historical ambiguity would be reconciled through spatial order, which constrained, contained, and confined the Irish. Mapping was one technique that allowed England to express control over a wild Ireland and project an image of domestic order.

While the landscapes of Scotland and Wales varied from the English landscape, they could also be viewed as natural extensions of it. However, crossing the Irish Sea broke this sense of continuity for the English.[24] Shared characteristics between these two islands made its differences loom large. This point was still noted by later travel writers such as William Makepeace Thackeray, who in 1842 commented that Ireland was "a country far more strange to most [British] travellers than France or Germany can be."[25] However, due to the very proximity

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the country, county, barony, and parish levels. The Down Survey Map Project has brought together all the surviving copies of the maps, as many of the individual maps were destroyed including in fire at the Surveyor General's Office in 1711 and in the fires at the Public Record Office in the Four Courts during the Irish Civil War of 1922. The Down Survey of Ireland Project has identified and digitalized the surviving copies of the maps. http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/index.html.

[23] Highly detailed including churches, roads, rivers, castles, houses and fortifications, the *Down Survey of Ireland* was created in order to document the boundaries of each townland, with an accurate calculation of its area.

[24] For further discussion of this point, see Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (eds.), *Strangers to That Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine* (Ulster: Gerrards Cross, 1994), esp. 134-135.

[25] William Makepeace Thackerary, *The Irish Sketch Book: 1842* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1911), 312

of Ireland as well as the centuries old interactions between these two islands, Ireland should not have felt foreign to the English.

While England had had contact with Ireland for centuries, the English considered that the landscape of sixteenth-century Ireland was a wasteland, due to its under-utilization. Sixteenth-century English author and soldier Barnabe Riche summarized a typical Elizabethan view of Ireland:

> From hence I might affirm and confidently conclude that throughout the whole realm of Ireland, what between the ill-husbandry of that which is inhabited and so much of the country again lying waste for want of inhabitants, there is not the third-part of that profit raised that Ireland would afford.[26]

Like Wales, early modern Ireland too could be described by the English as a "country of woodland and pasture…a country breeding men of bestial type."[27] Seen as a country rich in pastoral land, Ireland laid undeveloped due, according to English observers, to the laziness of savages who whiled away their lives in brutality and sexual licence – an El Dorado waiting for the arrival of enterprising and clean-living Englishman.[28] As Sir John Davies, the Attorney General for Ireland from 1606 to 1607, commented:

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[26] Barnabe Riche, "A New Description of Ireland, Together with the Manners, Customs, and Dispositions of the People," in James Myers D. Ed (ed.), *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 130.

[27] While this quote is written about the Welsh, men such as Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1146 – c. 1223) saw parallels between the Welsh and the Irish due to their pastoral societies and lack of industry. [Kenneth R. Potter and R.H.C. Davis (eds.), *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 14-15.] As one of the primary sources for twelfth century English history, *Gesta Stephani* describes the struggle that England's King Stephen had with his cousin Matilda of England.

[28] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland,* A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (eds.) (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 170. This view of the Irish is further reflected in the writings of Barnabe Riche, who stated: "The time hath been when they lived like barbarians in woods, in bogs, and in desolate places, without politic law or civil government, neither embracing religion, law or mutual love." (Rich, "A New Description of Ireland," 132.)

> For though the Irishry be a nation of great antiquity… yet (which is strange to be related) they did never build any house of brick or stone… Neither did any of them, in all this time, plant any gardens or orchards, enclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity; which, being against all common sense and reason, must needs to be imputed to those unreasonable customs, which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions.[29]

The literary topos in which the Irish were "a people living off beasts and like beasts" became prevalent in English discourse justifying colonization of Ireland.[30] As Sir John Davies' remark showed, the signs that made civility so apparent in England and the continent (for the English at least) were missing in Ireland and thus the English felt the need for Irish colonization to be self-evident.

Tudor England viewed Ireland with both fascination and revulsion. While the English regarded the Irish landscape as beautiful, they also saw it as untamed and uncultured and recognized its inherent threat as a potential launching base for England's enemies. The land was seen as unchanging – people lived and died, but the land continued to be used. This stability was challenged though by the very instability of its people, who were continuously changing – though from the English view, not towards civility. English colonial discourse suggested that Ireland was a *tabula rasa* where, as poet Edmund Spenser said, "[by] first removing all those inconveniences, a new framing (as it were) in the forge" could take place.[31] Never fully

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[29] Sir John Davies, *A Discoverie of the True Causes…,* 1-162: 103-104.

[30] Giraldus Cambrensis informed Henry II that the Irish were "a people living off beasts and like beasts; a people that yet adheres to the most primitive way of pastoral living. For as humanity progresses from the forests to the arable fields, and thence towards village life and civil society, this people, spurning agricultural exertions, having all too little regard for material comfort and a positive dislike of the rules and legalities of civil intercourse, has been able neither to give up nor abandon the life of forests and pastures which it has hitherto been living." Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, J.J. O'Meara (ed. and trans.) (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982), 100-110.

[31] Edmund Spenser, "A View of the State of Ireland," in *The Works of Spenser In six volumes. With a glossary explaining the old and obscure words. To which is prefix'd the life of the*

conquered, though England had laid territorial claim to Ireland for centuries, the sixteenth-century Irish landscape was viewed as "in some places wilde and very uncivil."[32] Yet, as England struggled politically, religiously, and economically with Spain, the need to extend English power through physical space made Ireland's land irresistible. Consequently, the juxtaposition of these two feelings of enthrallment and loathing that the English held towards the land would be mirrored by the same feelings towards the wild Irish women occupying this uncultivated – and thus virginal – land.

According to modern Irish historiography, scholars have argued that colonialism, seen as the "homology between sexual and political dominance," establishes parallels between sexual and political dominance.[33] In this way, the Irish were constructed by the English as "Other" and became the representation of what the English were not. By superimposing English culture onto the Irish landscape through social and political structures, Elizabethans hoped to reshape the land in their image, one created by their perspective of self as civilized in juxtaposition to an

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author, and an essay on allegorical poetry, by Mr. Hughes (London: J. & R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1750), 54-219, 143.

[32] William Camden, "Preface," *Britannia, Sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica description,* P. Holland (trans.) (London, 1695), cited in Margaret MacCurtain, "The Roots of Irish Nationalism," in Robert O'Driscoll (ed.), *The Celtic Consciousness* (New York: George Braziller, 1981), 371-382, 375.

[33] Ashis Nandy has argued that the imperial hegemony that the British attempted to impose in India was based around two axes: femininity versus masculinity and adulthood versus childhood. Nandy explores how these polarities placed limitations on both colonizer and colonized as each group sought self-definition. [Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 3.]

uncultured Irish Other.[34] The landscape itself shaped the lens of "sweet civility" through which the English viewed themselves and the world.

Sixteenth-century Tudor thoughts about landscape and civilization were based on and endorsed earlier English ideas, such as those of Gerald of Wales, an "avid student of natural history."[35] His observation of the relationship between man and landscape was that "mankind progressed in the common course of things from the forest to the field, from the field to the town and to the conditions of townsmen."[36] The Irish, with their sheer geographical inaccessibility, had "not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living."[37] The untamed quality of the land accentuated its feminization just as "...the [female] body is a highly contested site – its flesh is both the recipient and the source of desire, lust, and hatred."[38] The lack of control of the land's fertility consigned it to a category of savagery.

Not only would Ireland be seen as affront to English civility, within the patriarchal world of colonization, both the land and the people of Ireland would be feminized. As feminist scholar Anne McClintock has argued, "All nationalisms are gendered… All nations depend on powerful constructions of gender."[39] Nations can be studied as "the national family of man" in which the

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[34] For discussions on the English creation of the "Other," see Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* **(**Baltimore**:** Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Wilson, *The Island Race*.

[35] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 118.

[36] Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, J.J. O'Meara (ed. and trans.) (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982), 101-2.

[37] Ibid.

[38] W.A. Ewing, *The Body: Photographs of the Human Form* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 324.

[39] Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review*, Vol. 44 (1993): 61-80, 61.

subordination of women and children is naturalized within the social hierarchy.[40] Thus, according to modern scholars, within colonialism the voice of the feminized and of the young was silenced by the masculine authority, creating a "male dominated, male identified, and male-centered" colonialism.[41] This happened within Irish colonialism as well.

While characterizing Ireland as barbaric, savage, and uncivilized validated the process of colonialism to the English, the feminization of the land and its people made its subordination seem natural. As scholar Jyoti Puri has argued, "depictions of colonized peoples as closer to nature, childlike, emotional, and impulsive were rife and had important consequences of the psychology of colonized peoples – and also the colonizers."[42] Attempts to bring the land and the people of Ireland under English rule included an effort to impose English ideas, drawn from classical arguments of gender and civilization, onto Ireland's landscape as English territory. Viewed as a weak, ineffectual woman, Ireland was, in this view, in need of a strong resolute man to control her. The land (and her people) would be dependent on – and subservient to – the control of English masculine political domination. This relationship between colonialism and landscape created Ireland as a geographic object of English power.[43] The gendering of the Irish

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[40] Ibid., 63.

[41] Allan G. Johnson, *The Gender Knot: Unraveling Our Patriarchal Legacy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005), 5.

[42] Jyoti Puri, *Encountering Nationalism* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2008), 135.

[43] By claiming what English thought defined as a savage Ireland, England demonstrated its own superiority (and civilization) to its subjects. For further discussion, see J. Ruane, "Colonialism and the Interpretation of Irish Historical Development," in M. Silverman and P. Gulliver (eds.), *Approaching the Past: Historical Anthropology through Irish Case-Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 293-323. Colonialism has been defined as "a process that involves the intrusion into conquest of an inhabited territory by representatives of an external power." Also see, Donald W. Meinig, "Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion,' in A. Baker and M. Billinge (eds.), *Period and Place: Research Methods in Historical Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Meinig defines colonialism as "the

people and the Irish landscape as "an essentially feminine race" by the English is thus understandable in the historical context of colonial efforts to control Ireland.[44]

Classical theories argued that the body was composed of four elements – water, fire, earth, and air – and this schema continued to influence early modern thoughts about how behavior was determined.[45] In the Renaissance, a pervasive belief existed that the mind was influenced first by a complex set of humors in the body and secondly by the environment. René Descartes supported this theory in his 1637 work *Discourse on Method* in which he opined, "the mind depends so much on the temperament and on the disposition of the organs of the body." Since the humoral body was a "porous and fragile envelope" in which the mind was vulnerable to outside influences, Descartes felt that environment was intertwined with mind and body.[46]

With this triad of mind, body, and nature in use, it became possible to argue that the physical aspect of accounting would affect its inhabitants' character.[47] Further supporting this argument was the obvious shaping of man's basic needs – air, water, and food – by nature. Furthermore, according to humoral theory, men were described as being hot and dry while women were seen as cold and moist, in constant need of warming. Given that the English tended

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aggressive encroachment of one people upon the territory of another, resulting in the subjugation of the latter people to alien rule" (71).

[44] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Culture.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 42. Also see Ernest Renan, *The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Essays,* William Hutchinson (trans.) (London: Walter Scott, 1896).

[45] Classical theorists on this subject include Hippocrates, Galen, and Aristotle. See Juan Huarte, *Examen de Ingenos: The Examination of Men's Wits* (1594), Richard Carew (trans.) (from the Italian translation by Camillo Camilli) (London 1616), 22, 29, 34-35, 48, 56, 57, 273.

[46] René Descartes, *Discourse on Method and the Meditations,* F.E. Sutcliff (trans.) (New York: Penguin, 1968), 54, 78-79.

[47] Argued by Susan Scott Parrish in her work regarding Europeans and their interactions with the New World in her *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 78.

to gender the Irish landscape as female, the related character traits that were seen as accompanying femininity, such as being emotional and passive, could be used to support England's view that colonization was improving Ireland. The land's very verdancy could be construed as "greensickness" or the virgin's disease. According to Johannes Lange, who would publish *Medicinalium epistolarum miscellanea* (1554), the best cure for greensickness was that of copulation.[48]

> The Woman is both wanton and wild
> Till she hath conceived a child[49]

The wildness of Ireland's land and people could be tamed by becoming entwined with masculine England, allowing for the creation of a colony. The feminization of Ireland's landscape allowed for it to be "the weaker vessel," in which nature imprinted its authority physically.[50] This hierarchal ordering of bodies that would firmly define gender roles would become the basis for doctrines of Irish subordination and English colonization. While these ideas regarding the land – and its inhabitants – as feminine were not new concepts within European thought, their application in Ireland posed challenges to the English colonial discourse.

Within English thought, land as female was a broadly held concept. Since nature was envisioned as a naked female body laid open to male scrutiny, questions arose as to what type of

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[48] For further discussion of greensickness, see Irvine Loudon, "The diseases called chlorosis," *Psychological Medicine* 14 (1984): 27-36; Helen King, *The Disease of Virgins: Greensickness, Chlorosis, and the Problems of Puberty* (New York: Psychology Press, 2004).

[49] Elias Ashmole (ed.), *Theatrum Chemicum Brittanicum* (London, 1652), 432, cited in Anthony Fletcher, *Sex, Gender, and Subordination, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 48.

[50] Originating with William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into English in 1526, the phrase "the weaker vessel" became common in the subsequent century. [Antonia Frasier, *The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Vintage Books, 1984), 1.]

woman this land was – virgin, child, mother, wife, other? Caught in their own conflicting tropes, English ideas needed new interpretations to fit Ireland's land and its people into the spaces created by the very attempts at definition. Nineteenth-century tourism literature echoed the earlier sixteenth-century promotional materials in which nature allowed for the "male art of seeing that could correct and complete what a feminized landscape held forth."[51] However, Ireland's often craggy landscape posed difficult questions about how nature could also be hidden. According to one scholar, this invisibility challenged the Renaissance thoughts of men such as Francis Bacon whose "only earthly wish is ... is to stretch the deplorably narrow limits of man's dominion over the universe to their promised bounds."[52] Bacon proclaimed, "I come in truth leading to you Nature with all the children to bind her to your service and make her your slave."[53] If Ireland's land was not fully exposed to the roving eye of the English, what was preventing the penetration and exposure of the veiled, female interior? These hidden elements challenged the male colonizers ability to conquer the country, creating a sense of anxiety and paranoia about England's investment in conquest. While land in the New World was described as not only virgin, but also as feminine, many English people saw it as relatively benign despite its status as "wilderness." However, the English would view Ireland's landscape as imbued with

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[51] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16. According to Annette Kolodny, "Indo-European languages, among others, have long maintained the habit of gendering the physical world and imbuing it with human capacities." [Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 8.

[52] Benjamin Farrington, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon: An Essay on its Development from 1603 to 1609 with New Translations of Fundamental Texts* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964), 62.

[53] Cited in Joseph R. Des Jardins (ed.), *Environmental Ethics* (New York: Cengage Learning, 2012), 226.

a malignancy that tainted its people.[54] Because the mental image of Ireland as savage, disordered, uncertain, and unpredictable was layered over the physical landscape, English colonizers created a cultural landscape. For them, this cultural landscape would become indistinguishable from what they perceived as the natural landscape.[55]

The English viewed nature – including both the landscapes of England and Ireland – as feminized. However, just as eighteenth-century philosopher Denis Diderot described nature as "like a woman who enjoys disguising herself, and whose different disguises, revealing now one part of her and now another," [56] the English landscape embodied the positive feminine characteristics of domesticity, morality, simpleness, and nurture. While England's landscape represented beauty to the English beholder, Ireland's did not since beauty was not only a feminine quality, but also a racialized one. Edmund Burke suggested that beautiful was that which was small, "because we love what submits to us." [57]

English ideas did reflect the Gaelic Irish representation of Ireland as woman. Within Irish mythology, Ériu, the female Gaelic goddess of sovereignty, often symbolized pre-Christian Ireland and is the root for Éire, the name for Ireland in Gaelic as well as the root for the English

[54] For further discussion of the relationship between England, Ireland and the New World in the early modern period, see Shannon Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), esp. 50-85.

[55] For the argument about how views of nature that stressed this disorder were suppressed in favor of those compatible with order, control, and manipulation, see Carolyn Merchant, *Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), 194-195.

[56] Cited in Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 18.

[57] Edmund Burke, *The Works of Edmund Burke: With a Memoir*, Vol. I (New York: G. Dearborn, 1835), 75.

word "Ireland."[58] Thus, English colonial thoughts would deem earlier Irish ideas of power and authority. Within pre-colonial Irish mythology, for a king to be considered a legitimate ruler, he had to undergo a ritual of initiation in which he copulated with the "sovereignty goddess." According to philologist and literary historian Proinsias Mac Cana, this "sexual element" was always "deeply ingrained in the tales and poems which provide endless variations on this basic theme of king and goddess."[59] As conceptions of both gender and national identity imbued traditional landscape representations in Ireland, English colonialism re-imagined England as the masculine king who would dominate Ériu and her people.[60]

The feminized Irish were seen as closer to nature due to women's reproductive capabilities. Women's very affinity to this damp nature created what was seen as their deficiencies; for it was "nature…[that] doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish, and experience hath declared them to be unconstant variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment."[61] This sense of a feminized land leading to a feminized people was repulsive to the English, even as they desired Irish land.

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[58] Ériu was one of the three queens of the Tuatha Dé Danaan and daughter of the Dagda. This became the diminutive form of the Gaelic word for Ireland, which is *Éire*. This would become anglicized to "Erin."

[59] Proinsias Mac Cana, "Women in Irish Mythology," *The Crane Bag* (Images of the Irish Woman Issue) 4(1): 520-24.

[60] For further discussion on this idea, see Catherine Nash, "'Embodying the Nation': The West of Ireland Landscape and Irish Identity," in Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1993), 86-114; Catherine Nash, "Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identify, Gender and Landscape in Ireland," *Feminist Review*, Vol. 44 (Summer 1993): 39-57, 39.

[61] Alluding to Mary Guise, the Dowager Queen of Scotland and Mary I of England, this quote by John Knox supports his misogynistic belief that the rule of women was "monstrous" and "unnatural." While Knox was unusually vocal in his strong views regarding women, his writings reflect the underlying prejudices of his sixteenth century contemporaries. [John Knox, "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," in *The Political Writings of John Knox: The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of*

Through the symbolic display and manipulation of the feminized geographical and topographical spaces of Ireland, many of the English viewed the landscape of Ireland as something to be shaped to their wants. The cartography of the early modern period literally illustrated the sexual overtones of colonization. That is to say, the idea of "woman as land" was translated visually into cartographic images, including one of Elizabeth I. While a 1598 Dutch engraving of Elizabeth as Europa could demonstrate Elizabeth's dominion over those countries over which her body is juxtaposed, a scholar has recently suggested that in this image, Elizabeth's "body also becomes vulnerable to attack at many places – every cartographic inlet provides an orifice for invasion, or rape, as the name Europa, who was raped by Zeus, suggests."[62] [Figure 3] As portrayed on the map, Elizabeth as England was not all powerful and the potential for attack – either commercially or militarily – existed. As the Queen of England, Elizabeth faced challenges from other European powers vying for power, in particular from Philip II of Spain.[63] The mapping metaphor portrayed by Elizabeth as Europa effeminizes the European terrain, sanctioning the proscribed appropriation of women, even if they are invested

Women and Other Selected Writings ed. Marvin A. Breslow (Washington, DC: Folger Books, 1985), 43.]

[62] Rhonda L. Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 55-57.

[63] While Philip II had been married to Elizabeth's sister Mary during her reign, relations between England and Spain would steadily deteriorate after Elizabeth's accession in 1558. Philip II's "Enterprise of England" the 1588 Spanish armada, was both the zenith and the nadir of the tensions between these two nations. For further discussion of this relationship, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Figure 3: Elizabeth as Europa (1598)

with regal power. This potential ravaging of the queen's natural body – and thus the body politic, which her body symbolizes – also reinforces the underlying discourse of colonization. When the land was viewed as feminine, the conquest of territory was cast as defloration and rape, underlining the idea that "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[64]

The landscape of England differed in a significant way from that of Ireland, especially the west of Ireland. The perceived differences between the relatively developed English countryside and the relatively uncultivated landscape of Ireland presented a visible site of contestation. While Tudor England had both arable and pastoral lands, the English distinguished between the two types. For the English, an arable landscape represented civilization as seen by the villages and towns, surrounded by their common fields. More than simply topographical,

[64] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42.

this distinction was a moral one in which uncultivated land became associated with uncultivated people, living in a barbaric state.[65] Often captured by painters in later centuries, western Ireland's wilderness would capture in spirit what the English saw as the coarseness of the Irish.[66] Tudor ministers were advised that

> the country where they inhabited [i.e. The Kavanaghs and O'Tooles of south Leinster], in which is, for the moost parte, nothing but woddes, rockes, greete bogges, and barren grounde, being unmanured or tilled … was a greete occasion to theym to lyve like wild and salvaige persones, onlie lyving by stelthe.[67]

Seen as the inverse of English cultivation and civility, Ireland's landscape was viewed as one of untilled soil and disorder. Its rawness and lack of restraint was seen as being reproduced within its people, especially its women because of their perceived closeness to nature. The association of Irish women with nakedness pervades many of the writings of the time. Fynes Moryson, author of *Itinerary* (1617), writes of "young maids, stark naked, grinding corn with certain stones to make cakes thereof, and striking off into the tub of meal such reliques thereof as stuck on their belly, thighs, and more unseemly parts."[68] Capturing the seemingly more relaxed Irish attitude towards nudity and sex, Moryson's descriptions betray the ambivalence the English felt towards Irish women and their supposedly more primitive attitudes. While land was meant to be exposed to male scrutiny, the female body was supposed to be private and reserved only for a woman's husband. Irish women represented the English belief that the Irish "abhor[ed] from all thing that

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[65] See Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of Tudors, 1485-1603* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), esp. chapter 1.

[66] An example of such an artist is artist is Paul Henry, who is noted for depicting the West of Ireland landscape in a spare post-impressionist style. A prime example of his work is *Dawn, Killary Harbor* (1921).

[67] *State Papers Henry VIII,* Vol. I, 266-270. Lord Deputy to Henry, November 14, 1540.

[68] Fynes Moryson, *The Description of Ireland,* Charles Hughes (trans.), Electronic edition compiled by Beatrix Färber Funded by University College, Cork and The President's Strategic Fund via the Writers of Ireland II Project, 226, http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100071.html.

agree with English civility."[69] Traditionally seen as the preservers of race and culture, women represented the biological link to the physical landscape, making it difficult to distinguish between natural and cultural landscapes. Lacking in fences and cultivated land, the nakedness of the land – through both its feminization as well as its relatively low population density – invited the English eye to rove.[70]

However, as the farthest Irish point from England, western Ireland proved challenging to English expansion and settlement. Lawless coastlines and an interior seen as being filled, from an English view, with barbarians and rebels made conquest necessary in order to secure international trade and English shipping ventures, as well as providing a buffer zone for England from potential Catholic invasions. As the least accessible of the four provinces of Ireland, Connaught would be the last of the provinces to submit to English rule and law, in part because "its barren mountains and sedge-lands have never tempted commercial speculators, nor its fiery people invited feudal lords."[71] The English saw the untrammeled nature of the west as hostile, viewing its mountains as "Wens, Warts, Pimples, Blisters, and Imposthumes."[72] In this landscape, few – whether Irish or English – survived easily. Furthermore, according to Ralph Rokeby, the first Chief Justice of Connaught:

> The people of Connaught are not willing to embrace justice, nor reform themselves to English government… [as seen in the] Uncivil dealing of the Earl of Thomond in turning the President Fyton out of his country. It must be valiant

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[69] Fynes Moryson, *"The Manners and Customs of Ireland"* in C. Litton Falkiner, *Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth century* (London, 1904), 322.

[70] This theme has been examined by John Gillies in his discussion of America. See John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[71] W.W. Lynam, "The O'Flaherty County," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 3 (June 1914): 13-40, 13.

[72] Marjorie Hope, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959, 42.

> and courageous captains and hardy soldiers that must make a way for law and justice, or else farewell Ireland…[73]

The English would conflate their lack of control over this land with conceptions of wildness and savagism, as English thought equated wildness with the continuance of ignorance and poverty.[74]

Especially in the imagery of the western province of Connaught, conceptions of both gender and race identity have imbued traditional Irish landscape representations up to the present day.[75] Often seen as evocative of the landscape of all of Ireland, the west coast became representative of true Irishness – both in terms of Irish identity for themselves as well as what Ireland presented to others. Distance from both the Pale and England itself meant that the land would not easily be anglicized. The ever-changing winds and mists molded this quintessential Irish landscape with its verdant land into what a twentieth-century commentator called "a breeding ground for one of the picked races of the world."[76] Scholars even as late as the mid-twentieth century argued that the very unpredictability of the weather would become associated with the volatile emotional character of the Irish, while their very closeness to nature equated to their wildness. Their mental geography was seen as having to adjust to the aspect and exigencies of the landscape.[77]

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[73] *State Papers* 63/30/86, Ralph Rokeby to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, April 15, 1570.

[74] The attempts to control wildness within England would become part of the discourse on enclosure, especially in the seventeenth century. See Silvanus Taylor, *Common-Good: or the Improvement of Commons, Forests and Chases by Inclosure*, (London 1652); Christina Bosco, *Fields of Contention: Enclosure and the English Community in the Seventeenth Century* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) (Stony Brook, NY: Stony Brook University, 2013).

[75] Catherine Nash, "Embodying the Nation - the West of Ireland Landscape and Irish National Identity," in Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor (eds.), *Tourism and Ireland: A Critical Analysis* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1983).

[76] Stephen L. Gwynn, *A Holiday in Connemara* (London: Methuen and Company, 1909), 312. The term "picked" demonstrates Gwynn's nationalistic bias.

[77] See E. Estyn Evans, *The Personality of Ireland: Habitat, Heritage and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) and Alfred P. Smyth, *Celtic Leinster: Towards an*

Bestowing upon its inhabitants a "personality," Ireland's geography would become intertwined with its people and their culture. According to some modern historians, in a peripheral country like Ireland, the most representative and characteristic norms of society are often seen as lying not in the capital or in the places where most Irish people are gathered, but in those places where Ireland's quintessential marginality is best exemplified – in the western province of Connaught.[78] Separated from England not only by the Irish Sea, but also by the whole width of Ireland, many of the great events of history passed Connaught by; the place was seen by the English as generating a timeless, savage people changing with the weather, but not with the times. Connaught was a rugged, inhospitable area, described as

> a land of wind and rock and water, in early times the haunts of saints, in later times of smugglers, a land give up to dreamers and outlaws, despots and fairies, to ancient feuds and the treacherous will of the sea.[79]

Historical Geography of Early Irish Civilization A.D. 50-1600 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1982). While scholars such as Franz Boas have argued against "a strict environmental determinism [that] is narrow-minded and one-sided," Evans would have strongly disagreed with Boas' assertion that geography "played no significantly creative role in culture." [Ray Cashman, "E. Estyn Evans and His Lasting Importance to the Study of Folklore," *Folklore Forum*, Vol. 27, no. 1: 3-19, 18.)

[78] Joep Leerssen has argued that the connotations of peripherality combined with the spatial and temporal, create a discursive construct, which shapes how an individual chooses to see, to conceptualize, and to represent the world. He further argued that consistent with this discursive construct is the "idea that history takes place at an uneven pace in different parts of the world, more or less proportionate to a given area's centrality or marginality." (4) Leerssen contends that this "chronotope" has been displayed by writers from classical antiquity through the writers such Karl Marx in the nineteenth century. (Leerssen, "The Western Mirage," 2, 4.) Also see Steven G. Ellis, "Centre and Periphery in the Tudor State," in Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (eds.), *A Companion to Tudor Britain* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher, 2004), 133-150; Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas of Antiquity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1935).

[79] W.W. Lynam, "The O'Flaherty County," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 3 (June 1914): 13-40, 13.

The province fit geographer H.J. Fleure's description of a "region of lasting difficulty," with distinct cultures serving as refuges of old habits and ideas.[80]

The landscape and use of land by the Irish served as a focus for the cultural differences in Tudor Ireland. Its settlement by English colonists compelled the English to confront their own fears of order and disorder. The cultivation of fields and enclosed grounds formed for the English the quintessential element of a civilized society. The "wild and salvaige persones" that inhabited Ireland's disordered lands challenged English notions of order in their very refusal to adopt what the English saw as civilized behaviour.[81] The latter were repulsed by what they as saw as the very stubbornness of the Irish in refusing to give up their ancient way of life in favour an English one.

> [T]he whole land, where the English did dwell, or had any thing to doe, was filled with as goodly beasts, both cows and Sheep … the greatest part whereof hath been destroyed by those barbarians, the natural inhabitants of Ireland …. [who] endeavoured quite to extinguish the memory of [the English], and of all the civility and good things by them introduced amongst that wild Nation …[82]

For the English, civility was the antithesis to a society that was "mobile, shifting, confused, chaotic…incapable of sedentary existence, of self-discipline and of sustained labor."[83] English politician and lawyer Sir John Davies hoped for the homogenization of the Irish, once suitably civilized, "so that we may conceive a hope that the next generation will in tongue and heart and

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[80] H.J. Fleure, "Human Regions," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 35 (1919): 94-105, 101.

[81] *State Papers Henry VIII*, I: 266-70, Lord Deputy to Henry, November 14, 1540.

[82] Gerard Boate and Samuel Hartlib, *Ireland's Natural History* (London: Wright, 1652), 89.

[83] Patricia Coughlan, "'Some secret scourge which by her shall come unto England': Ireland and Alterity in Spenser," in J. B. Lethbridge (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1989), 50-54.

every way else become English."[84] The English activities in Ireland were thus not just an effort to colonize, but to cultivate the Irishness out of the Irish. However, men such as the English poet Edmund Spenser recognized that "Lord, how quickly doth that country alter men's natures."[85] The inability or refusal of the Irish even to assimilate into the English state illustrated, by refraction as it were, some of the distinctive characteristics of English society.

Deeply involved in a colonial re-imagining and reading of the Irish landscape, poet Edmund Spenser was captivated by the Irish landscape, especially during his tenure in Munster as an official and a settler. While the more typical English view of the Irish landscape was of "a howling wilderness only endurable in the hope of release and promotion," Spenser rather argued that it presented a message of damnation and promise of redemption.[86] Having served Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, Spenser would write two of the most influential colonial pieces of literature regarding Ireland and its relationship with England. Circulated as a manuscript and widely read by various statesmen of the time, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* was written in 1596, though it was not published until after Spenser's death. However, his epic poem *The Faerie Queen* (published in two parts in 1590 & 1596) received enough acclaim that he was granted a pension for life. Works such as these emphasized Spenser's anti-Catholic views while his religious stance coupled with his political views made him one of Elizabethan England's chief critics of the Irish people. Spenser believed that "Ireland is a diseased portion of the State, it must first be cured and reformed, before it could be in a position to appreciate the good sound

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[84] Sir John Davies, "A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Subdued. Until the Beginning of His Majesty's Happy Reign," in Henry Morley, ed., *Ireland Under Elizabeth and James I* (London: George Routledge, 1890), 217.

[85] Ibid., 335; Spenser, 151.

[86] C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 356.

laws and blessings of the nation."[87] As an advocate of the destruction of Irish culture, Spenser argued that violence towards the Irish – if necessary – would be acceptable.[88] Yet, while hostile to the culture of the Irish, he was paradoxically enamored of the island's landscape.

The forest setting of the first book of *The Faerie Queene* illustrates this dichotomy of damnation and redemption. The "Wandering Wood" is presented as the home of the monster Errour, whose body is female on top, but ends in a huge dragon tail with a venomous sting. Spenser's hero Redcrosse will ultimately succeed in strangling Errour and leaving the body of the monster to her foul offspring, who will gorge themselves until they too die. The woods that harbored such a savage beast will then redeem themselves through the trees that grow there:

> The Laurell, meed of mightie Conquerours And Poets sage,
> the Firre that weepeth still,
> The Willow worne of forlorne Paramours,
> The Eugh obediant to the benders will,
> The Birch for shaftes,
> the Sallow for the mill,
> The Mirrhe sweete bleeding in the bitter wound,
> The warlike Beech,
> the Ash for nothing ill,
> The fruitfull Olive, and the Platane round,

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[87] Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Washington, DC: Scholarly Press, 1970), 178. Henley based this idea on Edmund Spenser's 1596 *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, in which his character Eudoxus states that: "for were it not the part of a desperate physition to wish his diseased patient dead, rather then to imploy the best indevours of his skill for his recovery: but since we are so far entred, let us I pray you, devise of those evills, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot, as you say, be recured. And if it be not painfull to you, to tell us what things during your late continuance ther, you observed, to be most offensive, and impeachfull unto the good rule and government therof." (Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), W. L. Renwick (ed.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 479.)

[88] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 507. Spenser advocated "the most violet redress that may be used for any evil." This passage is discussed by Ciaran Brady in "Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s," *Past and Present*, Vol. 111 (May 1986), 17-49: 39.

The carver Holme, the Maple seeldom inward sound.[89]

These plants and their classical connotations illustrate the potential that resides in the landscape.[90] While the land harbors a "savage" beast, its very landscape redeems itself through the strength that it can provide the hero, i.e., the English.

Ireland's landscape was part of the English narrative of civilization in which civilization had to be juxtaposed against wilderness.[91] Since one-eighth of Ireland was woodlands, the sheer abundance of the trees acted as reminder of the land's perceived lack of civilization with its inherent values of restraint and order.[92] Edmund Spenser summarized the opinion of many of the English administrators and of the English military who waged war in Ireland when he said that the Irish were:

> a flying enimye, hidynge himself in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not draw forth, but into some straight passage or perilous forde where he knowes the armye most needes passe; there will he lye in wait, and, if hee finde advantage fitt, will dangerouslye hazard the troubled souldier.[93]

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[89] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, J.C. Smith and E. De Selincourt (eds.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), I.i.1.9.

[90] "Eugh" refers to the Yew tree used to make English longbows. The "warlike Beech" refers to its use in classical times for war chariots, while "Mirrhe" was used as a surgical dressing for wounds.

[91] For further discussion concerning wilderness and civility, see Joep Leerssen, "Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 56, no. 1 (Jan., 1995): 25-39; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[92] Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470- 1603* (London: Longman, 1985), 33; Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland, 1534-1660* (Dublin: Criterion Press, 1987), 6-7; Joan Fitzpatrick, *Irish Demons: English Writings on Ireland, the Irish, and Gender by Spenser and His Contemporaries* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 79.

[93] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 111-112.

For the English, Ireland's landscape needed to be transformed by "civilized" improvements and "war was waged against the last woods – because of the refuge they offered outlaws and rapparees and short term economic gain."[94] If the English followed the biblical injunction to subdue the earth, Ireland could be conquered.[95]

Published in 1595, Spenser's works *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* celebrated his courtship of his young bride Elizabeth Boyle – an English woman living in Ireland – whom he wed the previous year. Closely linked to nature, *Epithalamion* follows a couple from before dawn of the day of their wedding ceremony into the night of consummation, linking their physical movements with nature's own time clock. With the poem's setting and much of its imagery taken from Ireland, it can be argued that within *Epithalamion,* in passages where the groom is presented as ruling the bride, Spenser is expounding upon what he sees as the proper relationship between England (the groom) and Ireland (the bride).[96]

According to Spenser, the transformation of Ireland's pastoral landscape would disrupt Irish customs and allow English ideas of civility to take root. This idea built on earlier thoughts from his work *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* in which he argued that deforestation was integral to the subjection of Ireland as thieves were rarely caught due to "beinge in rebellion or in the woodes."[97] Furthermore, by denuding the land of its woods, England would profit as Ireland

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[94] John Feehan, "Threat and Conservation: Attitudes to Nature in Ireland," in John Wilson Foster and Helena C.G. Chesney (eds.), *Nature in Ireland: A Scientific and Cultural History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 573-596: 580.

[95] *The Holy Bible – New International Version* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan House, 1984), Genesis 1:28

[96] Edmund Spenser, *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595), in Kenneth J. Larsen (ed.), *Amoretti and Epithalamion: A Critical Edition* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997)

[97] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* 26.

would provide "goodly woods fit for the building of houses and ships so commodiously, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas and ere long of all the world."[98] The idea that the removal of the trees would reveal Ireland and allow civility to be established was echoed in *Epithalamion*'s refrain – "The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring."[99]

Within *Amoretti*, Spenser describes the beloved as being a "cruell warrior;" he also comments that "sweet is the rose, but growes upon a brere; sweet is the lunipere, but sharpe his bough; sweet is the Eglantine, but pricketh nere."[100] The beauty of this love is only accessible through thorns. This imagery metaphorically speaks of Ireland and her potential, which had been made impenetrable by the geography of the land.[101] Spenser furthers this idea of the land in need of clearing in his later work. In *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), Spenser uses his character Irenius – who critics often argue is Spenser himself talking – to speak about the woods of Ireland. Observing the necessity of obtaining safe passage through the wood, Irenius comments:

> And first I wish that order were taken for the cutting down and opening of all paces through the woods, so that a wide way of the space of a hundred yards might be laid open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perilous places to be robbed and sometimes murdered.[102]

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[98] Ibid., 19.

[99] Spenser, *Amoretti and Epithalamion,* 1.

[100] Ibid., 79.

[101] Scholar Henry Hore echoed this conclusion that "the forests presented the greatest obstacle to a complete conquest of the country. [Henry Hore, "Woodlands and Fastnesses in Ancient Ireland," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 6 (1858): 145-61, 147.]

[102] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* 164.

Often cited in the *Calendars of State Papers*, Irish woods were frequently the site of conflicts between the Irish and the English. Viewed as perilous to the well-being of the English, the woods allowed the Irish to hide and move undetected, gaining the advantage of surprise.[103] For successful English conquest, the landscape needed to be at least partially denuded of woods and thus of the "barbarous" people and their ways of life, allowing English culture to take root. With the woods being both literally and metaphorically the barrier between the two peoples, the only way for the English to dominate the Irish would be through the physical transformation of the landscape.

Not only does Spenser entwine the ideas of colonialism and landscape, but his works show the gendering of the land as well. Spenser's own Irish-born bride represented the challenges faced by an English groom. Irish women, often decried by the English for their loose morals, must be bound just as Spenser's nymphs in *Epithalamion* to preserve order and decorum:

> Bynd up the locks the which hang scatterd light,
> And in his waters which your mirror make,
> Behold your faces as the christall bright,
> That when you come whereas my loue doth lie,
> No blemish she may spie.[104]

By seeing "no blemish," the bride's face would be a crystal, allowing for a purity that had been lacking in Ireland. This paternalistic attitude of Spenser towards his bride, at least in the poem, was a mirror of England's attitudes towards Ireland. By clearing the land of woods, the removal of blemishes from the landscape would allow for effective English control.

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[103] Henry Hore asserted that "for [Saxon] invasion, a troop of the colonial cavalry could not ride twenty miles in any direction…without three centuries subsequent to the finding the pursuit obstructed by a wood," and echoes the frequent conclusion that "the forests presented the greatest obstacle to a complete conquest of the country." (Hore, 147.)

[104] Spenser, "Epithalamion," in *Amoretti and Epithalamion*, 109.

The Faerie Queen parallels these thoughts in certain parts, which reflect an imaginative enclosure that allows the wild to be tamed. In Book IV of this epic, the Irish rivers "late staind with English blood" come together "to doe their duefull service, as to them befell."[105] The landscape that had once helped to hide the Irish from the English and allow them to endure is seen as having switched allegiance as they "did on the Thamis attend."[106] The rivers take on a new role as their allegiance shifts celebrating a union with the English. Containing the most obvious allusions to Ireland, book five of *The Faerie Queen* shows this progression as the landscape bows to the will of the colonizers and the woods and waters are wiped clean of the Irish rebels.

As these works illustrate, Spenser vacillated between an aversion for the Irish population, as it was – in his eyes, a society of lewd rebels – and his desire to see the natural beauty of Ireland's landscape settled with a peaceful and civilized populace. As a soldier-secretary and later a planter in Munster, Spenser would join in the colonial debate of "nature versus nurture." The fact of his participation provides an underlying realism to his writings as he argued that the Irish were "wilde fruit, which savage soil hath bred."[107] Considered "a diseased portion of the [English] State," Ireland was in need of curing, which would allow the virtues of English civilization to take root: "it is vayne to prescribe Lawes where noe man careth for keeping them, nor feareth the daunger of breaking them."[108] Ultimately, Spenser's political views and those of

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[105] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* IV.xi.44.9.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Edmund Spenser, "Verses addressed by the author of the Faerie to Several Noblemen, etc.," in Geoffrey Chaucer (ed.), *The Canterbury Tale and The Faerie Queene with Other Poems of Chaucer and Spenser* (Brooklyn, NY: W.W. Swayne, 1872), 308.

[108] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* 104.

his audience were molded by the Irish landscape even as the English state attempted to sculpt it into a model of English civility.

The establishment of English administration as well as settlement transformed both the physical and cultural landscape of Ireland. Understanding how the colonial discourse molded both the Irish landscape and her people allows for recognition of how colonialism not only shaped Ireland, but was also a reflection of English identity. As the variations of the refrain of *Epithalamion* – "The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring" – suggest, the Irish woods sometimes returned answers of their own and not necessarily of England's making. The very woods, which so obscured Ireland from English vision, would become the very bulkhead of the English navy that would allow England to be "lordes of all the seas and ere long of all the world."[109] Through cultivation of Ireland, England would flourish. Consequently, by observing that colonial discourse "was effective precisely because discourse was not merely language," the intersection of geography and gender in Ireland demonstrates the way in which both land and people, subjected to colonization, had colonial practices inscribed both physically and psychologically on them.[110]

[109] Ibid., 617.

[110] Nicholas Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 19. For further discussion, see Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

"Wild fruit, which salvage soil hath bred."
Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen* (1590)

Chapter 2 Civility and the Irish

The conquest of Ireland as conceived by the Elizabethans was a mission of civility that would reveal the power that came from defining and differentiating people. Edmund Spenser's 1596 tract on Ireland elucidated the English and European thought that "considered the Irish to be a separate and inferior race, usually unregenerately barbarian, often delinquent and primitive."[1] Both Spenser's and Giraldus Cambrensis' writings represented a common element in European thought, which had existed for centuries, that emphasized the Gaelic Irish as not only bestial, but often sub-human.[2] During the sixteenth century, this view of the Irish as barbaric was strengthened in part because of Tudor England's view of not simply Catholicism, but specifically the Catholic practices of the Gaelic Irish. While colonialism under the Tudors was not exclusively, or even mainly, based on theological motives, religion underpinned much of this discourse. While the Hiberno-Normans had always recognized the Gaelic Irish as Christian, it was also understood that Gaelic Christianity did not fully conform to Roman liturgical

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[1] Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland: The Influence of Stereotypes on Colonial Philosophy* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976), 15.

[2] English descriptions of the Irish, from the twelfth century onwards, emphasized Irish barbarity and inferiority and racialized them as something lower than the Anglo-Saxon. By the eighteenth century, English racial theorists such as Robert Knox categorized Irish and English into separate racial groups. English Saxons in these schemas were racially superior to the Irish Celts. Although eighteenth and nineteenth century theorists such as Knox, John Beddoe, and John Bright disagreed on whether race was biologically or environmentally determined, they agreed that the Celts were racially incapable of ruling themselves. For further discussion, see Nancy Stepan, "Biological Degeneration: Races and Proper Places," in J. Edward Chamberlain and Sander L. Gilman (eds.), *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 97-120; John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe* (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1885); Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*.

practice. Many Christian ideas acted only as a veneer for beliefs that were once pagan. This seemingly lack of true Christian ideals had actually been used to justify the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, during which time most of the ancestors of the Hiberno-Normans had arrived.[3]

While the mainly Catholic society of the Hiberno-Normans – who, for the most part, remained Catholic during the Protestant Reformation – accepted the Gaelic Irish observance of Christianity, the new wave of Protestant English colonists found it repugnant. Edmund Spenser held that the Gaelic Irish were "all Papists, by their profession, but . . . so blindly and brutishly informed for the most part . . . that you would rather think them atheists or infidels."[4] These Protestant colonists saw the Gaelic society's religious observances as so remote from anything they considered Christian that they branded the native Irish as indisputably pagan. The English military commander Sir Arthur Chichester, who labelled the Gaelic Irish "the most treacherous infidels in the world," supported this idea.[5] Furthermore, his superior, Lord Deputy Mountjoy, opined that "even the very best of the Irish people were in their nature little better than devils."[6]

Claiming that the Gaelic Irish were "in some places wilde and very uncivil," sixteenth-century antiquarian and historian William Camden highlighted what the English perceived as the

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[3] In 1155, Adrian IV issued the Papal Bull *Laudabiliter*, giving Henry II of England the right to assume authority over Ireland in order to enforce the Gregorian reforms on the Catholic Church in Ireland and to "check the torrent of wickedness to reform evil manners, to sow the seeds of virtue." (Laurence Ginnell, *The Doubtful Grant of Ireland By Pope Adrian IV to King Henry Investigated* (Dublin: Fallon & Co, 1899), 14-15.)

[4] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 84.

[5] John McGurk, "The Pacification of Ulster, 1600-3," in David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan, and Clodagh Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 122.

[6] Ibid.

mental and emotional volatility of the native Irish.[7] Irish resistance to what was judged as civilization set them aside racially from the English, who were considered as embracing modernity. Summed up by John Derricke's scathing comment "my soul doth detest their wild shamrock manners," the Irish were a race apart.[8]

Declaring the Gaelic Irish to be pagans allowed them to be equated with barbarians since Protestant England recognized a distinction between Christianity and civilization; as a modern historian has put it, "people could be civilized without being made Christian, but not Christianized without first being made civil."[9] While this view was countered somewhat by men such as Sir John Davies who blamed the island's problems on social and economic causes rather than any willfulness of her people, he still hoped that the "Irish will turn English" – or that the Irish would cease to be Irish.[10] While distinctions were originally made between Gaelic Irish and English, the Protestant English colonists of the sixteenth century would come to apply the same descriptions to the gaelicized Hiberno-Normans in their efforts to distance themselves from colonials "gone native."

The question of race defines much of the early modern discourse about the relations between England and Ireland. The ideas of the more recent centuries regarding how 'nature' had created different races and placed them in disparate geographical areas can be traced back to the twelfth century when the Gaelic Irish people were described as a "barbarian and degenerate

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[7] William Camden, *Britain, or, a Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1610).

[8] John Derricke, *The Image of Irelande with a Discoverie of Woodkarne*, David Beers Quinn (ed.) (Dublin: Blackstaff Press, 1985), 62.

[9] Nicholas Canny, "The ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. 30, no. 4 (October 1973): 575-598, 585.

[10] Lebow, *White Britain*, 15.

race."[11] The separation of races allowed for the articulation of a colonial discourse in which the supposed racial superiority of the English validated their actions in regards to Ireland. Complicating the racial Othering of the Irish was the "absence of the marker of skin colour difference which was used to legitimate domination in other [later] colonized societies."[12] Rather than skin color being the mark of the Other, early modern Englishmen emphasized the savagism and barbarity of the Gaelic Irish.

While the interaction between the peoples of these two islands is often simplified as one between the English and the Irish, this dichotomy was rarely in fact the case. Rather, Ireland was split amongst three societies – English, Hiberno-Norman, and Gaelic Irish. When the lordship of Ireland was claimed in the twelfth century, the descendants of Norman colonial settlers fashioned a "mixed race and a degree of acculturation of both sides."[13] While retaining attitudes about racial superiority, this "middle nation" would ally as necessary with native Gaelic leaders. The creation of this middle nation would be a logical response to the needs of a society owing allegiance to the English crown, but living in Ireland. Initially, the Hiberno-Norman lords created a successful feudal society based around an expanding Pale that was of economically benefit to the Crown. By the fourteenth century, though, they would face challenges from the native Gaelic population and would become dependent on the support of the English Crown –

[11] Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*, 15. See also Catherine Nash, "Embodying the Nation - the West of Ireland Landscape and Irish National Identity," in Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor (eds.), *Tourism and Ireland: A Critical Analysis* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1983), 86-112.

[12] Claire Wills, "Language Politics, Narrative, Political Violence," cited in "Neocolonialism," Robert Young (ed.), *The Oxford Literary Review*, Vol. 13 (1991): 21.

[13] James Lyndon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).

both economically and militarily.[14] With the lordship dissolved into competing Hiberno-Norman fiefdoms led by the Geraldines and the de Burghs, the reduction of the Pale would be countered by the rise of the Gaelic chieftains including the O'Neills and the O'Briens.

While the English Crown had claimed Ireland since 1171 A.D., it had not yet managed to eliminate native Gaelic culture.[15] The fact that Irish was still the dominant language in sixteenth-century Ireland illustrates this fact. Nonetheless, fears of intermingling between the races had long existed, as proven by the passage of the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366. The authors of the thirty-five statutes sought to reinforce English customs such as language and dress as well as prevent intermarriage.[16] The Statutes of Kilkenny sought to address one of the fears the English Crown had when attempting to conquer and colonize a contested frontier – the creation of a "middle nation," neither fully English nor fully Irish. Composed of English families who lived and intermarried with leading Gaelic Irish families, this "middle nation," in effect, created new Irish tribes. While the English saw them as having degenerated to the native Irish level of

[14] The Pale comprised the areas of Ireland under direct English control that centered mainly on Dublin as well as the towns and earldoms of Leinster and Munster. Historically, Ireland has been separated into four provinces – Connaught (western Ireland), Munster (southern Ireland), Leinster (eastern Ireland), and Ulster (northern Ireland).

[15] From 1171 until 1542, Ireland was held as a Lordship under the King of England. Henry VIII would change this structure in 1542 when he was crowned King of Ireland.

[16] As discussed by James Muldoon, a "middle nation" is a group of people who possessed characteristics derived from two cultural groups that had met along a frontier zone. Originally, the term referred to the Anglo-Irish. [James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Tampa: University Press of Florida, 2003), vii-viii.] Also see James Muldoon, "Race or Culture: Medieval Notions of Difference," in Berel Lang (ed.), *Race and Racism in Theory and Practice* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 79-98. The term "Anglo-Irish" first appeared in the *Remonstrances of the Irish Princes* (1317). See Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell (eds.), *Irish Historical Documents* (London: Methuen and Co., 1943; reprint: New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), 38-46; Margaret Rose Jaster, "Breeding Dissoluteness and Disobedience: Clothing Laws as Tudor Colonialist Discourse," *Critical Survey* Vol. 13, no.3 (2001): 17.

existence, the Gaelic Irish viewed them as a "mixed race," called "to rule our nation with justice and moderation… [but who had] set themselves wickedly to destroy it instead."[17]

By the sixteenth century, Ireland's population would see divisions not between just the Gaelic Irish and the English, but amongst the English themselves. The "New English" were recent Protestant transplants, who were more self-consciously English. In contrast, the "Old English" or Hiberno-Normans were looked upon as having lost their distinctive English identity. Their mixed Hiberno-Norman heritage prevented a clear English hegemony; race connected the Old English and New English, but Catholicism would unquestionably join the Old English and the Gaelic Irish.[18] By the arrival of the New English in the sixteenth century, Ireland would be a checkerboard of Gaelic Irish and Hiberno-Norman territories in which the Hiberno-Normans would be seen as neither Irish nor properly English.

Rooted in English thought (and European thought more generally) was the concept of civility, which was conceived as a defense against savagery. This notion allowed for the construction of English identity as "civilized." The image of savagery was imposed on the Gaelic Irish (and later on the populations of the New World) as they resisted English encroachment. In *Topographia Hibernica,* the medieval author Gerald of Wales had declared:

> The Irish are so barbarous that they cannot be said to have any culture…they go naked and unarmed into battle…They are a wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only, and live like beasts…"[19]

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[17] "The Remonstrance of the Irish Princes to Pope John XXII, 1317," cited in Curtis and McDowells, *Irish Historical Documents,* 38-46, esp. 45.

[18] By the seventeenth century, these divisions would eventually create a political shift from racial to religious discrimination that would exclude the Old English politically and socially.

[19] Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland,* J.J. O'Meara (ed. and trans.) (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982), 100-110.

The Gaelic Irish thus embodied negative characteristics that would be juxtaposed against English self-definitions of civility. A growing sense amongst the English of their own uniqueness – the myth of Anglo-Saxonism – even in relation to other Europeans would enhance English notions of superiority.[20]

As the English were repeatedly forced to recognize in the sixteenth century, though they would not have put it this way, race was not a stable binary.[21] As philosopher Jacques Derrida has suggested, "Every culture is haunted by its other."[22] England was bordered by the Celtic peoples of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, each of whom wished to maintain their own ways of life while facing English attempts at domination. The English worried that if they mingled with the Gaelic Irish (or any of the other Celtic peoples), bastardization of the English race would occur. Scholars have discussed how, in order to create and maintain group self-definition, the process of alterity takes place in which the binary opposition to the "self" becomes the symbol for all the fears and anxieties one has.[23] Constructions of "Otherness" convey the complex ways in which marginalization functions, especially as there are often multiple Others. English reaction to both

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[20] See Fabienne Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Richard T. Vann, "The Free Anglo-Saxons: A Historical Myth," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 19, no. 2 (April 1958): 259-272.

[21] Helpful in elucidating the concepts of identity and alterity are Jacques Derrida, "Deconstruction and the Other," in *Dialogues With Contemporary Continental Thinkers*, Richard Kearney (ed.) (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1984); Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).

[22] Jacques Derrida, "Deconstruction and the Other," in *Dialogues with Contemporary Continental Thinkers*, Richard Kearney (ed.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 116.

[23] For a discussion on alterity, see Philip Lewin, "Understanding Narratively, Understanding Alterity," *Human Studies*, Vol. 28, no. 4 (Oct. 2005): 375-383. Also see Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier*, 28-62.

the Gaelic Irish as well as the Hiberno-Normans expressed this multiplicity of the Irish Other. In the English Crown's view, there were two categories of people in Ireland – the English and the Irish. The Hiberno-Normans were viewed as "becom[ing] degenerate…dress[ing] themselves in Irish garments," wearing their hair in the Irish style, and in other ways conforming "themselves to the Irish as well in garb as in countenance."[24]

Consequently, the Hiberno-Normans were perceived to be in the process of becoming Irish unless they could be brought back to English civility. By the late thirteenth century, those claiming Englishness were obligated "to relinquish the Irish dress at least in the head or hair" and if they did not do so, it was felt "necessary, by arrest of their body and imprisonment" to force them to do so.[25] Only through the semblance of civility could the conquering English be differentiated from the conquered Irish – with civility representing the opposite of wild, rude or barbarous. As Desiderius Erasmus had indicated in his *A Handbook on Good Manners for Children (De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*, 1530), appearance and behavior could convey a person's character and mind – "[B]odies are like tender plants, which grow and become hardened to whatever shape you've trained them."[26] Through law and, if necessary, force, the Hiberno-Normans could be guided (back) to Englishness; however, without the mold of English civility, the Hiberno-Normans would become entangled with the wild Irish.[27]

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[24] Henry Fitz-Patrick Berry (ed.), *Statutes and Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland* (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co., 1907), 211.

[25] "Parliament of Ireland, 1297 (25 Edward I)," in Curtis and McDowell (eds.), *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 32-38.

[26] Desiderius Erasmus, *A Handbook on Good Manners for Children: De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*, 1536 (New York: Random House, 2011), 1.

[27] For further discussion about how behavioral patterns including that of civility shape the hierarchy of status and power in society, see Jorge Arditi, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), esp. chapter 4.

Sixteenth-century Englishmen assumed that their "superior" way of living, which modern scholarship suggested that they viewed as having been "a progress from barbarism to civilization," could be taught and learned.[28] Civility in manners became what one scholar has called "an extensive practical science of sociability" rather than simply "a set of rules for use in a limited range of situations."[29] The English would have a prolonged conversation about civility as they attempted to define and redefine their concepts about social conduct and social life. As a modern cultural critic has observed, revealing the necessity of institutional order, savagism, associated with a degraded condition of human life,

> probes and categorises alien cultures on the external margins of expanding civil power. At the same time as they serve to define the other, such discursive practices refer back to those conditions, which constitute civility itself.[30]

Through entwinement and mutual reinforcement, these extremes allow for the revealing of the mastered – be it a people or a land – as well as the necessity of civil order. The English believed that through hard work and the blessings of Providence, they had reached the civil state of life; this belief assured them they had reached adulthood. However, the Irish as savage represented a threat to Englishness as there was the possibility of a regression to the savage state given that their primal urges had only been subdued and not removed.

By the sixteenth century, civility served as way of categorizing disparate cultures and explaining colonialism. Declaring that the English had a God-given responsibility to "inhabite

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[28] John Gillingham, "The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, Vol. 13 (1991), 107.

[29] Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 60, 68- 71, 107, 277.

[30] Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the Discourse of Colonialism," in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1985), 50.

and reforme so barbarous a nation" in order to educate the Irish "brutes," Englishmen would spread English law in order to prevent the Irish from "robbyng and stealing and killing one another."[31] Failure to adapt to English notions of civility would lead to more forceful and violent methods of coercion. As the sixteenth century progressed, ideas about Englishness became more refined. Prior to the Tudors, this sense of Englishness had encompassed the Englishry of Ireland, despite their geographical and cultural differences from the English who lived in England. However, with the English Reformation and the Elizabethan push for more direct control over Ireland, a tighter definition of Englishness evolved that would exclude not only the Gaelic Irish because of their perceived natural barbarity, but the Hiberno-Normans as well due to their religious convictions.

The sixteenth century witnessed the confrontation between a centralizing English state and a fragmented Hiberno-Norman/Gaelic society. Just as England viewed itself as superior in terms of law and culture, it viewed the native Irish and Hiberno-Norman societies as backwards and in need of the imposition of order. This process of civility would be refined as the century progressed and would eventually be exported across the Atlantic. The Elizabethan conquest posited questions about how to govern a people seen as alien. Men such as Sir John Davies, a favourite of Elizabeth I, who would make him attorney-general of Ireland, were proponents of the concept of power by conquest. Davies might well have agreed with Edmund Spenser's remark that

> the which sithence [sic] they [the English] first conquered and by force subdued unto them [the Irish] what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle terms

[31] Johannes Boemus, *Letter Sent to J.B…* (London, 1572), C. 6 and Smith to Fitzwilliam, November 8, 1572, Carte MSS. 57, no. 236, cited in Nicholas P. Canny, "Ideology of English Colonization," 588.

> with them to be called their king, when it is in the power of the conqueror to take upon himself what title he will over his dominions conquered.[32]

Echoing this point, Davies pointed out that "according to the opinions of all peoples what is acquired in a just war belongs to the conqueror and the conquered should be slaves to the conqueror."[33]

Irish historian David Beers Quinn has posited that the Tudor government utilized two different strategies in order to pursue its conquest of Ireland.[34] Prior to the 1560s, the Tudors commonly employed techniques such as persuasion and assimilation. One such method was the policy of surrender and re-grant. This strategy was based on the theory that all the lands held by the Gaelic and Hiberno-Norman lords depended on the Crown of England.[35] Initially in the 1530s and 1540s, agreements were negotiated with more than forty Irish chiefs and Hiberno-Norman lords in which they agreed to recognize Henry VIII as their overlord. In return, he gave them English titles. However, if these Gaelic and Hiberno-Norman lords accepted the terms and titles of the English king, they were then obliged to abandon the Brehon laws and customs which

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[32] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 2.

[33] Jean Bodin, *Réponse de J. Bodin aux Paradoxes de M. de Malestroit* (1568), cited in Harry V. Jones (ed.), *A Spenser Handbook*, (Manchester, NH: Irvington Pub, 1930), 381. The argument supporting power by conquest relied on French political philosopher Jean Bodin (1530–1596) and his theory of sovereignty. For further discussion of this idea, see J.W. Garner, *Political Science and Government* (Calcutta: World Press, 1955), 146-147.

[34] D. B. Quinn, "Agenda for Irish History, Ireland from 1461 to 1603," *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 4 (1944-1945): 258-269.

[35] David B. Quinn argues that English policy was all too frequently based on "a lack of critical realism." The English believed that they had the right to the lands of Ireland based on the Anglo-Norman conquest that had occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They claimed title simply because the Irish, who once again occupied most of this country, had never legally re-claimed the land. Therefore, the English viewed the Irish as trespassers and thus, the Irish could be forcibly removed as necessary. See Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, esp. 123-142.

had endowed them with their positions of power in the first place.[36] Leaders were often willing to give up their Brehon authority in order to have their sons inherit under the English Common Law's primogeniture rules.[37]

As the century progressed, though, more forceful methods of coercion and repression came to dominate interactions between the English and natives.[38] To improve England's control of Ireland, several ventures had sought to establish English colonies – called "plantations" – in the Gaelic areas of the country. The plantations were a response to Gaelic marauding into the area of the Pale. Plantations only gained significance when Elizabeth I allowed members of the gentry and younger aristocratic sons, who were in the pay of the government, to privately sponsor these projects.[39] The Crown gave lands to English gentlemen, called "undertakers," who

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[36] Brehon law was named after the primary practitioners of the law in Ireland, the Brehons, or "brithemuin," meaning judges or jurists, but in practice more akin to mediators. Brehons continued the druidic tradition after the druids fell from grace. Some Anglo-Irish lords accepted the Brehon method of succession known as tanistry. [Kenneth Nicholls, "Gaelic Society and Economy," in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume II: Medieval Ireland 1169–1534* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 397–438.]

[37] In Gaelic society, the chieftain was elected by members of the ruling sept or family within the clan and did not inherit by feudal primogeniture.

[38] The deep divide between the two races also reveals the relationship between coercion and legitimacy. As scholar Youssef Cohen has argued, "It is normally assumed that consent arises out of one's free will, consent is usually conceived as the opposite of coercion. However, if consent is the result of a process of adaptation to powerlessness, it ultimately rests on the threat of coercion where inequality prevails." [Youssef Cohen, *The Manipulation of Consent: The State and Working-Class Consciousness in Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 76-77, cited in Curtis C. Breight, *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), 8.]

[39] The first plantations took place during Mary I's reign. While Catholics in Ireland believed the reign of a Catholic monarch would ease the pressures of colonialism, Mary Tudor strongly believed not only in her faith, but also in expanding the power and influence of England. She espoused a more militant response to Gaelic Irish rebellions and approved plantations in Queens County (now County Laois) and Kings County (now County Offaly) in 1556. The plantation project would gain momentum under Elizabeth I in the 1580s with the Munster Plantation. See Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland*.

agreed to plant the land with English settlers.[40] Among the entrepreneurs were Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser. Thus to some degree, Elizabethan policy was one of "conquest by private venture to be subsequently taken over by the State."[41] Sir Henry Sidney justified the plantations on the grounds of strategic necessity and expediency, stating that:

> . . . all the Treasure your Highenes sendeth, is yssued out of this Realm; and so will it be, thoughe your Majestie sent as muche as *Englande* bredeth. This Myschief is no Waye to be helped, but by ministring of Justice, and planting of som civill People upon thoise barbarous Placies. And, moste gracious Soveraigne, this Matter is worthie of deliberate Consideracion and spedy Redress.[42]

As reflected in a substantial body of surviving letters, speeches, and political tracts, by the sixteenth century, the English Crown had come to regard the Irish as uncivilized and thus used their "barbaric" behavior as a justification for indiscriminate killing and expropriation. Many Englishmen would become convinced that the Irish were an "unreasonable people, and that they…might be slaughtered by extralegal methods."[43] Reinforcing this idea was the fact that the

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[40] Undertakers were the term used to describe the English land investors, who were supposed to introduce English tenants into their seignories of 400-1200 acres to create compact, defensible English settlements. The expectation of 15,000 English colonists on some 500,000 acres of Irish land in Queens County and Kings County never materialized. However, as many as 22,000 English men, women and children would eventually settle in the later Munster Plantation. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 130-132.

[41] G. V. Martyn, "Random Notes on the History of County Mayo," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 14, no. 15 (1928-29): 136.

[42] Arthur Collins (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of State, In the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation, Written and Collected By Sir Henry Sydney* (London: Printed for T. Osborne, 1746; Reprinted: New York: AMS Press, 1973), 24.

[43] Nicholas P Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), 121. Canny is referencing Queen Elizabeth I's frank support for some of the more ruthless aspects of her Irish policy, including the massacre on Rathlin Island (1575) led by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norreys as well as the Smerwick massacre (1580) led by Early Arthur Grey. Elizabeth I was "delighted with what Grey had done" at Smerwick and "[a]s time passed…her heart continued to be warmed by the thought of his exploit." [Sir

Irish were subjects of the English Crown and now, some of the English felt, had to be dealt with because they were now "within the boundaries of the state."[44]

The Desmond rebellions of the 1570s and 1580s, which took place in the province of Munster, were led by Gerald FitzGerald, 15th Earl of Desmond and included both his Hiberno-Norman family (the Geraldines) as well as his Gaelic Irish allies. Motivated in part by the threat of the expansion of the Tudor government over their lands, the rebellions also revealed elements of religious hostility between the Catholic Geraldines and the Protestant English state. As a response to the Desmond rebellions, the Crown would support the brutal, scorched earth policy of Earl Arthur Grey. This method of conquest and subjugation reduced Munster to a barren wasteland.[45] Edmund Spenser, who had been the secretary to Earl Grey, would later promote this policy in his pamphlet *A View of the Present State of Ireland* as being an apt method in the conquering and subjugating of Ireland. Spenser argued that:

> Out of everye corner of the woode and glynnes they came creepeinge forth upon theire hands, for theire legges could not beare them; they looked Anatomies of death, they spake like ghostes, crying out for their graves…if they found a lott of watercresses or shamrocks theyr they flocked as to a feast for the time…yet sure

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John Pope-Hennessy, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1883), 212-213, 215.]

[44] Andrew Hadfield, "'The Naked and the Dead': Elizabethan Perceptions of Ireland," in Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Williams (eds.), *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32-54, 41.

[45] Added to the horrors of war was famine. By March 1, 1580, the English government was warned that famine would strike Munster by the autumn, which would cause "more death than by the sword." [*Calendar of State Papers 1574-1585*, 211.] Sir Warham St. Leger informed the queen in his letter dated April 20, 1582 that 30,000 people had died in Munster alone of famine in the previous six months. This figure did not include the thousands more who had been hung by the military or killed in battle. Sir Warham Sentleger, the provost marshal of Munster, stated that, "Munster [is] nearly unpeopled by the murders done by the rebels and the killings by the soldiers." Furthermore, plague had hit Cork city, causing "72, 66, and 62 [to] die in a day in Cork, which is but one street not a half a quarter of a mile in length." [*Calendar of State Papers 1574-1585*, 361-362.]

> in all that war, there perished not manye by the sword but all by the extremitie of famine which they themselves had wrought.[46]

Leaving behind devastation and famine in its wake, this tactic exhausted local support for the rebellions, as "a most populous and plentiful country [was] suddenly left void of man or beast."[47] The Irish chronicle *Annala Rioghachta Eireann* stated, "At this period it was commonly said, that the lowing of a cow, or the whistle of the ploughboy, could scarcely be heard from Dun-Caoin to Cashel in Munster."[48] English authorities viewed the struggle of Munster's population to survive as presenting an opportunity in which English laws and civility could be planted.

Causing extreme changes in demographics and politics, these patterns of colonization would become important in forming the attitudes of the Elizabethan administrators towards both the Gaelic and the Hiberno-Norman populations.[49] English planters were urged to settle in now barren lands before the Irish – be they Gaelic Irish or Hiberno-Norman – re-occupied the space.[50] The Crown used this opportunity to attempt to dismantle the Hiberno-Norman lordships, which with their large commands of followers and armed retainers challenged the expanding English

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[46] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 430-431.

[47] Ibid., 104.

[48] Michael O'Clery, Cucogry O'Clery, Ferfeasa O'Mulconry, Cucogry O'Duigenan, and Conary O'Clery (eds. & trans.), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co., 1856).

[49] One must be wary of regarding the changes in Tudor policy as vacillations in strategy. Scholars Brendan Bradshaw and Nicholas Canny contend that the chaos of colonization in Ireland was not the result of indecisive policy as much as the changing political and intellectual worlds of England at this period. For further discussion, see the critical reviews of Bradshaw by Ciaran Brady in *Studia Hibernica*, Vol. 19 (1979): 177-181 and Steven G. Ellis in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 22 (1980-1981): 87-91, and of Canny by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein in *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 21 (1978): 106-111.

[50] *Calendar of State Papers, 1586-1588*, 405-406, Wilbraham to Lords Commission for Munster Causes, September 11, 1587.

state. In 1583, then Lord Deputy of Ireland Henry Sidney advised "the dissipation of the great lordships; if among the English the better, if not, yet that they be dissipated."[51] Furthermore, the resulting plantations were seen as a civilizing act in which the "barbarous" Irish chieftains and their Brehon ways were replaced by the lawful English landholding system. The planting of these settlers was an opportunity to allow Protestantism to take root in Ireland. As William Herbert, an English undertaker in Kerry, hoped, the plantations would through "good example, direction and industry, [allow] both the true religion, sincere justice and perfect civility [to be] planted."[52]

While traditional English practices of conquest had made use of marriage as a way to consolidate power and spread civilization, marriage between the English and Irish seemingly reversed this process, causing degeneration of the English to the level of the Irish. The Statutes of Kilkenny "ordained and established, that no alliance by marriage, gossiped, fostering of children, concubinage, or by amour, nor in any other manner, be henceforth made between the English and Irish of one part, or of the other part."[53] From the English perspective, fosterage and marriage between the races were identified as "the two most dangerous infections," expressing the fear of Irishness passing into English children's bodies through the milk of Irish mothers and wet nurses.[54] However, the Hiberno-Normans did not see these practices as precluding the civility, but rather as necessary concessions to living and surviving in a wild frontier. The

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[51] Daniel McCarthy, *The Life and Letter Book of Florence McCarthy Reagh, Tanist of Carberry* (Dublin 1869), 21.

[52] *Calendar of State Papers, 1586-1588*, 532.

[53] *A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III., enacted in a parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,* James Hardiman (ed. and trans.) (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1843), Article 2.

[54] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, cited in Henry Morley (ed.), *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1890), 106.

Tudors recognized that the Hiberno-Normans or "Old English" often tempered cultural practices that England preferred destroyed, as indicated by Sir Edward Poynings' renewal of these statutes under the 1495 Poynings' Act. While never fully implemented, enforced, or preserved, these laws emphasized the distinctions that the English saw between themselves and the Gaelic Irish, and even the Hiberno-Normans.

Laws such as Poynings' Act mirrored the fears of English engraver John Derricke, who cautioned new settlers against the seductions of Irish nymphs capable of transforming "[sometimes… honest men] from boars to bears."

> We know by good experience
> it is a danger thing,
> For one into his naked bed
> a poisoning toad to bring
> Or else a deadly crocodile
> whenas he goeth to rest,
> To led with him and as his mate,
> to place next to his breast.[55]

Some contemporary observers such as English administrator Fynes Moryson associated Ireland's soil with this transformation – "horses, cows, and sheep transported out of England into Ireland do each race and breeding decline worse and worse."[56] Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland* repeated this idea that the problems of Ireland

> proceede from the very genius of the soyle, or… [that] god hath not yet appoynted the time of her reformacion, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.[57]

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[55] Derricke, *The Image of Irelande with a Discoverie of Woodkarne*, 183.

[56] Moryson, "The Manners and Customs of Ireland," 310.

[57] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 3.

A more ominous interpretation of this alteration was that culture provided only the barest of protections against corruption. Degeneration occurred not because "[it] is the nature of the country to alter a man's manners," but rather that the English as mere mortals were susceptible to the lure of license and disorder.[58] Since the Irish had a land powerful enough to contaminate all potential colonists, they were in need of a master.

Recognizing the resurgence of Gaelic Irish culture within the Pale as the best gauge of power relations, the English crown recognized that the reconquest was doomed to failure if the English were unable to resist the seduction of Irish culture. As Moryson stated, "The English Irish…could speak English as well as we, yet commonly speak Irish among themselves, and were hardly induced by our familiar conversation to speak English with us."[59] Sixteenth-century Hiberno-Norman historian Richard Stanihurst expanded upon this commentary:

> Acquaintance wafted in the Irish tongue, the Irish hooked it with attyre, attyre inhaled rudeness, rudeness engendered ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequently the utter decay and desolation of that worthy country.[60]

While the Hiberno-Normans would reject much of this attitude and continue to identify themselves as English, Stanihurst contended that the rejection of English custom, law, and social

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[58] Ibid., 196.

[59] Graham Kew (ed.), *The Irish Sections of Fynes Moryson's Unpublished Itinerary* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1998), 50.

[60] Richard Stanihurst, "The Description of Ireland, 1577," in Liam Miller and Eileen Power (eds.), *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle* (Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press, 1979), 16. Throughout his varied career, Stanihurst identified himself as a Dubliner. Colm Lennon and Brendan Bradshaw have studied Stanihurst as a representative of the intellectual transformation in which some Palesmen, who once identified with English policies in Ireland, began to reject those same policies during the sixteenth century. For further discussion, see Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst: The Dubliner 1547-1618: A Biography with a Stanihurst Text on Ireland's Past* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981; Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

organization was closely linked to the continued use of the Irish language and thus to degeneracy. The theme of degeneracy pervades both Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) and Sir John Davies' *A Discoverie of the True Causes Why Ireland was Neuer Entirely Subdued…* (1612), in which these writers argued that through their contact with the Gaelic Irish, the Hiberno-Normans became assimilated Irish and thus degenerates. As Spenser put it in a fictional dialogue,

> *Eudoxus*: What is that you say, of so many as remayne English of them? Why are, not they that were once English, abydinge Englishe still?
>
> *Irenius*: No, for the most parte of them are degenerated and growen almost meare Irishe, yea, and more malicious to the Englishe then the very Irishe them selves.[61]

Through the adoption of Irish ways, the Hiberno-Normans had lost their English identity and became wild and ungovernable. For men such as Davies, the Hiberno-Normans had in fact become Irish.

> [I]f we consider the Nature of the Irish Customs, we shall find that the people, which doth use them, must of necessity be Rebels to all good Government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring Barbarisme and desolation upon the richest and most fruitfull Land of the world.[62]

The charge of degeneracy justified the exclusion of the Hiberno-Normans from the new Tudor bureaucracy of conquest. Under the Tudors and especially under Elizabeth I, the gradual abandonment of the Hiberno-Normans ruling elite as the primary means of governing Ireland would occur as the definition of Englishness became more limited in scope. Despite their professions of loyalty as well as the obvious advantages of avoiding

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[61] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 4 ; Davies, *Historical Relations: Or, a Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Intirely Subdu'd nor Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England until the Beginning of the Reign of King James of Happy Memory*, 3rd ed. (Dublin, 1966).

[62] Davies, *Historical Relations*, 150.

any major commitment of men and money, the Hiberno-Normans would be replaced by a state structure of militantly English – and Protestant – bureaucrats and soldiers.

Not only do these contemporary comments reveal the anxiety that the English felt towards Irish culture and language, but they also demonstrate how assimilation was viewed as not only an affront to English identity, but also a direct attack on English identity:

> But when their posteritie [Hiberno-Normans] became not all togither so wary in keeping, as their auncestors were valiant in conquoring, and the Irish language was free denized in the English Pale: this canker tooke such deepe roote, as the body that before was whole and sounde, was by little and litter festered, and in maner wholly putrified.[63]

The solidification and strengthening of the Tudor government in Ireland occurred through the suppression of "Irish Catholicism" and "barbarism."[64] The eradication of Irish culture was thus equated not simply with conquest, but with English self-defense as well.

As a modern commentator has remarked, colonizers tend to "construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origins, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction."[65] In Raphael Holinshed's 1587 *Chronicles*, John Hooker insisted that the Gaelic Irish were "wicked, effrenated, barbarous and unfaithfull… always trecherouse and untrustie." They did nothing "but imagine mischeefe & haue no delite in anie good thing. They are always working wickedness against the good."[66] Similar ideas seem

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[63] Stanihurst, "The Description of Ireland, 1577," 14.

[64] D.W. Cunnane, "Catastrophic Dimensions: The Rupture of English and Irish Identities in Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1615," *Essays in History,* Vol. 41 (1999): 1-19.

[65] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 70.

[66] Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle,* Vol. II, John Hooker (ed.) (1587), 17, cited in Hiram Morgan, "Giraldus Cambrensis and the Tudor Conquest of Ireland," in *Political Ideology in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 41.

to have influenced the Lord Deputy of Ireland Arthur Grey in August 1581 when he wrote to the English Privy Council that the "the Irish are so addicted to treachery and breach of fidelity…that they respect not either pledge, affinity, or duty."[67] As a Protestant Englishmen, Lord Grey included not only the Gaelic Irish, but also the Hiberno-Normans in his definition and revilement of the Irish. Portraying the Irish as a "barbarous nation" filled with a "perverse generation" necessitated the change in Elizabethan policy from one of slow betterment of the Irish to one of a more violent conquest.

Due to these ideas, the English crown and its administrators were able to satisfy themselves that the Irish as a whole were a culturally inferior people whom the English were justified in "reduc[ing]… to civilitie and the maners of England" through whatever means necessary.[68] This theory became popular and widely published, as demonstrated by Edmund Spenser's justification of the colonization and conquest of Ireland. This ideology claimed that the Irish were

> shameless in their customs, uncivilized in their ways, godless in religion, barbarous in their law, obstinate as regards instruction, foul in their lives: Christians in name, pagans in fact.[69]

This belief reinforced the political, cultural, and religious differences that the New English saw between themselves and the Irish populations.

While by the end of the sixteenth century, English thoughts had begun to merge the Catholic populations of the Gaelic Irish and Hiberno-Normans, this new English ideology did

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[67] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Salisbury Manuscripts, 24 vols. (London, 1883-1976), 2: 421.

[68] *State Papers*, 63/39/30 (Smith to Fitzwilliam, November 8, 1572).

[69] Quote by Bernard of Clairvaux, cited in John Gillingham, "Images of Ireland: 1170-1600: The origins of English Imperialism," *History Today*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (Feb. 1987): 16-26, 19.

necessarily reflect earlier English opinions about the status of this Hiberno-Norman population. Early Tudor thoughts about the Hiberno-Normans reflected Richard II's fourteenth century division of the population of Ireland into three groups: "the wild Irish, our enemies the Irish rebels, and the obedient English."[70] While the "wild Irish" were beyond redemption, what Richard II deemed "Irish rebels" – those who had previously submitted to the Crown including the Hiberno-Norman lords – were considered:

> …rebels only because of grievances and wrongs done to them on one side and lack of remedy on the other. If they are no wisely trusted and put in good hope of grace they will probably join our enemies.[71]

Furthermore, Irish scholar Nicholas Canny has argued that Queen Elizabeth approved of the view that the Irish, once stripped of their barbarous ways, could be accepted as English subjects. She urged the Earl of Essex that the native Irish should be "well used … our meaning is not that the said Erle nor any of his company shall offend any person that is knowne to be our good subject."[72] While Lord Deputy of Ireland Sir Henry Sidney asserted that the native Irish were unreliable and only force would subdue them, he did reiterate the belief that the Hiberno-Normans or Old English might be persuaded to return to civility. However, this leniency towards the Old English would disappear by the end of the sixteenth century, as the English came to conceive of conquest only in the terms of "conqueror" and "conquered" – leaving no space for the "degenerate" Old English as a middle nation.[73] This change in policy was reflected by Elizabeth's commendation of the 1574 services of Edward Barkley, a lieutenant of

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[70] Cited in Karl Bottigheimer, *Ireland and the Irish: A Short History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 69.

[71] Ibid., 69-70.

[72] Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization," 575-598; Queen to William Fitzwilliam, July 17, 1573, Carte MSS. 56, no. 260, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

[73] See Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier*, 116-117.

the Earl of Essex, who had commented "how godly a dede it is to overthrowe so wicked a race the world may judge: for my part I thinke there canot be a greater sacryfice to God."[74] By the start of the seventeenth century, the view of the Hiberno-Normans was that due to being "infected with the Irish filthiness," they, like the Gaelic Irish, were in need of both civility and mastering.[75]

By the sixteenth century, the development of proper manners and training of a gentleman would come to represent civility for Europeans, including the English. Originally conceived as "men of birth, good birth, gentle birth – *the generosus generosi filius,*" English gentlemen would come to be defined further as those men of intellectual and moral qualities.[76] Sir Thomas Smith in his *De Republica Anglorum* (1583) would broaden this category of "gentle" to include those represented by the phrase "he who gentle *does*, whatever he *is* by birth."[77] For Englishmen, their society would represent the pinnacle of civility:

> This royal throne of kings, this sceptered 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 happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,

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[74] See Walter Bourchier Devereux, *Lives and Letters of Devereux, Earls of Essex: In the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles 1, 1540-1646*, Vol. 1 (London: J. Murray, 1853), 30-31 (Essex to Burghley, July 20, 1573), 37-39 (Essex to Privy Council, Sept. 29, 1573 & Barkley to Burghley, May 14, 1574); *Calendar of State Papers – Ireland,* 63/46, no. 15.

[75] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 103.

[76] Ernest Barker, *Traditions of Civility: Eight Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 125.

[77] Ibid., 130.

Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England. . . .[78]

The above words spoken by Shakespeare's character John of Gaunt in his *Richard* II epitomized English separateness and superiority. However, conflict and tensions within the British Isles – especially between England and Ireland – challenged this concept of Englishness, as Richard II so aptly demonstrated in reality when his expedition to Ireland led to his downfall. The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland would become conflated with the discourse on civility, which would be linked to Englishness, Protestantism, and masculinity. By feminizing the land and its people, the English would place themselves in the masculine role of protector and husband in the colonial discourse. Misogynistic English thought implied that whether or not one believed that the Irish could be turned to civility, or accepted the thought that there was no solution to the Irish problem but to rid the land of the Irish, English ideals of civility could be used to justify the decision. England was thus no more cruel to Ireland, in this view, than a man was to his wife.

Cross-cultural comparisons have allowed for the study of the forms in which domination – including that of colonialism – brought culturally diverse people into intimate contact. Scholars have studies how cultural differences in gendered divisions of labor, sexual practices, and other signifiers of gender identity influenced how European and indigenous peoples perceived each other. In this view, and as discussed in chapter 1, gendered dynamics of imperialism contributed to the establishment and maintenance of English colonial ventures. Yet, seen as "evok[ing] multiple (and often contradictory) representations," gender disrupted the binary fixity of colonization; neither the discourses on Englishness versus Irishness nor the

[78] William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, II, ii, 40-51.

discourses on masculinity versus femininity were statically set.[79] Complicating the discussion of Irish colonization, the language of gender illustrates the perceived racial differentiation between the English and the Irish.

The English viewer would socially inscribe race onto Irish bodies. Because race is significant to the understanding of the social construction of gender, their entwinement underpinned English power structures, which presented, represented, and modeled the colonizer's social values and ideals.[80] Thus, these two social constructs caused "overlapping and cumulative" effects on colonized people's experiences, including that of the Irish people.[81] At the center of Tudor thinking about gender was the idea that people's minds and bodies were on a continuum in which weakness was a trait associated with femininity and strength became linked with masculinity. Enmeshed in the English discourse on Ireland, the feminine nature of Ireland was repeated by many commentators throughout the centuries.[82] Viewed as the weak, ineffectual woman, Ireland was, according to English thought, in need of the strong resolute man

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[79] Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 43-44.

[80] For further discussion, see Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*; bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992); Deborah King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 14 (1988): 42–72.

[81] Margaret L. Anderson and Patricia Hill Collins, "Why Race, Class, and Gender Still Matter," in *Race, Class, & Gender*, M. L. Anderson and P. H. Collins (eds.) (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2007), 1-16, 5.

[82] This belief was pervasive well into the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by British commentator Matthew Arnold, who argued that the "Celt is peculiarly disposed to feel the spell of the feminine idiosyncrasy; he has an affinity to it; he is not far from its secret." [Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1905), 90.] Expanding upon this idea, Ernest Renan argued that the Celts were "an essentially feminine race…conceived with more delicacy the ideal of woman, or been more fully dominated by it. It is a sort of intoxication, a madness, a vertigo." [Ernest Renan, "The Poetry of the Celtic Races," *Literary and Philosophical Essays*, Vol. XXXII (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909–14), para. 7.]

to control her. Not only would the landscape be feminized, so would those who inhabited the land. Passed on through their Celtic mother's milk, the Irish affinity with nature accentuated the perceived inability of the Irish to self-govern. Thus, Irish women were not simply breeding machines, but rather they produced the foundation and construction of Irishmen's character, incivility, and lack of culture.[83]

The gendering of Ireland was explicitly laid out by the English and relationship between the two isles was justified in terms of familial relations. As the feminized race, the Irish were in need of protection within the sphere of European politics. Not only was England placed as the protector within an international setting, but it also became the settler of domestic squabbles just as Ireland became a nagging wife. English poet and novelist Nicholas Breton's argument that "an unquiet woman…looks at no law and thinks of no lord, admits no command and keeps no good order" is illustrative of how gender shaped societal ideas of proper civility.[84] English colonialism echoed these gendered thoughts, in which feminine Ireland needed a strong, masculine lord. As demonstrated in numerous Elizabethan sermons and conduct books as well as in plays such as Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1590), English political ideology argued that "such duty as the subject owes the prince, / Even such a woman oweth to her husband."[85] Patriarchal authority, as the "natural" justification for obedience, became the foundation for Tudor colonial system. The question then for the English groom became how to silence and dominate his Irish spouse.

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[83] See chapter 1 of this dissertation for this discussion.

[84] Nicholas Breton, *The Good and the Badde* (London, 1616), cited in D. E. Underdown, "The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England," in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 119.

[85] William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, Philip Weller (ed.), V, ii, 155-156.

Sixteenth-century English scholar and diplomat Sir Thomas Smith accepted the idea that women were naturally created to stay at home and care for their children and family.[86] However, he admitted there were exceptions to the rule, for example when a woman inherited some sort of authority due to her blood:

> the blood is respected, not the age nor the sexe [in reference to underage rulers]... These I say have the same authoritie although they be women or children in that kingdome..., as they should have had if they had bin men of full age.[87]

While women were often regarded as the "weaker vessel," what this belief entailed was debated. The early modern English thought of women as possessing more than simply a physical inferiority, but rather also an intellectual and moral inferiority.

The assumption of a masculine intelligence by well-educated and gifted women such as Elizabeth I was an exception to the rule. Yet even this allowance was debated, as seen by James I's response to the idea of his daughter receiving a classical education – "to make women learned and foxes tame had the same effect: to make them more cunning."[88] Furthermore, contemporary scholars such as Juan Luis Vives contended that the story of Eve and the serpent proved

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[86] Sir John Smith was granted 360,000 acres in Ulster by Elizabeth I in 1571, as part of the project to plant English settlers and their related ideas of Englishness in Ireland. Located in the area known today as North Down and the Ards, Smith's grant was part of the territory controlled by the Clandeboyes, a branch of the O'Neill clan. Sir Brian MacPhelim, knighted in 1568 by Elizabeth I, saw Smith's grant as an act of treachery on the part of the English queen. The O'Neills would respond to this duplicitous act by leaving this territory barren of both people and resources. For further information on Sir Thomas Smith, see Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office* (London: Athlone Press, 1964).

[87] Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), reprinted in Mary Dewar (ed.), *De Republica Anglorum: By Sir Thomas Smith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 64-65.

[88] King James I of England - VI of Scotland commenting upon when he succeeded Queen Elizabeth I to the throne of England in 1603. Thomas Overbury, Edward Francis Rimbault (eds.), *The Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of Sir Thomas Overbury* (London: John Russell Smith, 1856), 261.

women's moral inferiority. Her actions demonstrated the fact that all women were inherently corruptible and swayed by temptation. In his *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, Vives states that

> a Woman is a frail thing, and of weak discretion, and that may lightly be deceived: which our first mother Eve sheweth, whom the Devil caught with a light argument. Therefore a woman should not teach, lest when she hath taken a false opinion...she spread it into the hearers, by authority of mastership...[89]

Not only did Vives see women as easily corrupted, he wrote, "woman's thought is swift, and for the most part unstable..."[90] Contemporary thought argued that women needed to be controlled within a rigid patriarchal schema.

Recent research on the history of women in early modern Ireland has revealed that the English rarely wrote about Irish women's lives or their rights within society.[91] While Spenser did write that Irish women had "the trust and care of all things both at home and in the fields," most English tracts rarely mentioned even this much.[92] Rather, by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English common law was attempting to replace such Gaelic customs and traditions. While English common law would define a married woman as legally dependent on her husband, within Gaelic society, "a women held a position of perpetual dependence" on her family instead.[93]

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[89] Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth Century Manual,* Charles Fantazzi (trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 72.

[90] Cited in Gloria Kaufman, "Juan Luis Vives on the Education of Women," *Signs*, Vol. 3 (1978): 891-96.

[91] For a discussion, see Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

[92] Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 61.

[93] Katharine Simms, "Women in Norman Ireland," in *Women in Irish Society,* 14. See also Katharine Simms, "The Legal Position of Irishwomen in the Later Middle Ages," in *Irish Jurist*, new series 10 (1975): 96-111.

In conquering Ireland, the English attempted to eradicate the native tradition of Brehon law, which had ruled Gaelic society since before the time of the Romans. Recognized in modern times as one of the most advanced systems of jurisprudence in the ancient world, this system of laws covered almost every relationship and every fine shade of relationship – social and moral – between man and man as well as man and environment.[94] Brehon law applied to all areas of life and was to have reflected the values of the people – "The customes of Ireland were anciently of two kindes: the one concerninge theyr behavior, breeding, and manner of life, the other touching theiyr government in warre and in peace."[95] This system of laws respected individuals first and property second. The law texts paid particular attention to the "law of persons." Clan and wealth defined one's individual identity. Thus, each person's wealth or honor price reflected his or her legal status in the community. Hence, the rank, profession, or sex of a person concerned in a law case was of crucial significance. The details of this issue indicate that status was based on either political power and/or wealth or due to a particular knowledge or skill

The basis of marriage partnership in Gaelic society was that the couple were regarded as partners in a joint enterprise, in which they invested – in different proportions – and in which their property-nexus was regulated as in similar relationships. Law texts from the period

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[94] The natural environment was of paramount importance under Brehon law, which ensured that land use was sustainable. This law system included the protection of certain trees and shrubs considered important to the community and imposed penalties for unlawful damage such as branch cutting, barking, or base cutting. Included in the eighth century legal tract *Bretha comaithchesa* is "Old Irish Tree List," which catalogs these protected species. For more on Brehon law, se*e* Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988); J.C.W. Wylie, *Irish Land Law* (Cardiff: Professional Books Limited, 1986); D.A. Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1978).

[95] Cited in Donnachadh Ó Corráin, "Women and the Law in Early Ireland," in Mary O'Dowd and Sabine Wichert (eds.), *Chattel, Servant or Citizen: Women's Status in Church, State and Society* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 1995), 45-57, 52.

demonstrate that the society was preoccupied with the need of the couple to be free and equal; marriage payments were often made by both parties in more formal types of marriages.[96] A woman's dowry or *spréidh* could include cattle, horse, sheep, household goods, and, in the case of Gráinne Ní Mháille, ships. Through at least part of the sixteenth century, special "sureties for the restitution of the same… in manner and in form as she hath delivered it" were an integral and important part of the matrimonial contract in the case of the death of the husband or divorce.[97]

While Gaelic women featured prominently in Old and Middle Irish literature, in real life, the power of women was undoubtedly much more restricted.[98] The Irish law annals provide no instance of a female political or military leader.[99] The wisdom texts, especially the *Triads of*

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[96] There were three main types of Gaelic marriages: *Lánamnas for ferthinchur* – a marriage based on the man's contribution, *Lánamnas for bantichur* – marriage based on the woman's contribution and *Lánamnas comthinchuir* – marriage of common contribution.

[97] Since divorce was prevalent among the Gaelic aristocracy, provisions were commonly made for that eventuality. In certain parts of Ireland, a *cáin beag* or special tax was raised for the maintenance of the chieftain's wife. Typically, upon the death of one's husband, a wife could expect her "thirds," or a percentage of her late husband's property. However, on the death of a chieftain, the widow often did not receive any part of his property as demonstrated by Gráinne Ní Mháille's response to a list of "eighteen articles of interrogatory" in which she stated: "The countries of Connaught among the Irishy never yielded any thirds to any woman surviving the chieftain."[97] Thus, the sureties for a woman's dowry were a vital part of the marriage contract since it was "against the custome of Ireland for wives [of chieftains] to have any more after the death of their husbands than they brought with them." [*State Papers of Ireland*, 63/170/63.]

[98] See references to the *Banshenchas* that includes the saga *Táin Bó Cúailnge* about Queen Medb. In the Mythological Cycle of tales, Otherworld women had an important and, often, aggressive role. In *Serglige Con Culainn*, two green-clad women from the Otherworld beat the hero Cú Chulainn with whips until he was nearly dead. In the voyage *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin*, one of the Otherworld islands is ruled by a queen who passes judgment and settles the disputes of her subjects. [Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 69.]

[99] According to renowned Irish law professor Fergus Kelly, the only non-literary sources in which there is a reference is in a difficult passage in the law text *Bretha Crólige.* This lists some categories of women who are particularly important in the *túatha* (tribe) including the "woman who turns back the streams of war" or *ben sues srutha coctha for cula* and the "hostage ruler" or *rechtaid géill*. The former could refer to a female military leader; however, the glossator identified her as an abbess or female hermit who turned back the many sins of

Ireland, provide probably the most accurate picture of the actual position of women in early Gaelic society. These texts seem to indicate that the most admirable qualities for a woman were reticence, virtue, and industry. The types of female behavior most consistently censured were sexual promiscuity, making of spells (or illegal satires), and thievery. Once Roman Salic law merged with early Brehon tradition, this newer law system discouraged the participation of women in politics.[100] Women were barred from positions of leadership. Women, however, continued to be accorded more protection and many more rights than their counterparts in many other European countries.

The myths of the ancient Celts suggest Gaelic women held a dominant role in society. According to Celtic lore, women were on near equal footing with men and were given a place of respect in society and accorded legal rights. In the epic tale *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, legendary Queen Medb of Connaught sets out with her army for Ulster on a plundering expedition, attended by all the great heroes of Connaught.[101] Yet, while described as fighting alongside her men, she is also portrayed as having an insatiable sexual appetite, as demonstrated by the number of husbands and lovers she is said to have had. These myths of queens and military leaders, at least, provided Gaelic women with a foundation – whether mythical or historical – on which to base their political involvement. However, while Gaelic legends allowed for female viragos, they were still outside the norm. Women like Gráinne Ní Mháille and her contemporary Fionnuala Nic Dhomhnaill, the latter of whom was described as having "the heart of a hero and a mind of

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war through prayer. The *rechtaid géill* is equally obscure. [Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 69.]

[100] Salic law, thought to derive from the code of laws of the Salian Franks, prohibited a woman from succeeding to a throne.

[101] Thomas Kinsella (trans.), *The Tain: Translated from the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

soldier," were thus atypical.[102] Irish women were not "put into their place" until the coming of English law and civilization. Ironically, the stamping out of the Brehon laws, and with them the rights of women, was finally accomplished under Queen Elizabeth I of England.[103]

The English tried to destroy the Brehon law, first by force, then by fiction. Sir John Davies, Attorney General of Ireland from 1606-1619, invoked the powers of conquest to justify the eradication of the native Irish laws, treating them as little more than a barbarous and lewd custom.[104] As the English gained an increasing foothold in Ireland, the rights of women were thus drastically reduced.[105] When English common law with its jointure system replaced the Gaelic Brehon law system, husbands gained almost total control over their wives and the property that they had brought into marriage. The "rules and directions" concerning "the estates of the Irish" which were issued by the Gaelic judges (perhaps at the instigation of Sir John

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[102] Paul Walsh (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill: Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell,* Vol. II (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1948), 136. Fionnuala Nic Dhomhnaill, also known as Iníon Dubh, married the chief of the O'Domhnaill (O'Donnell) clan. Her family was located in Tyrconnell, which was made up in part by modern-day County Donegal. When her husband grew senile in his old age, Fionnuala Nic Dhomhnaill became the leader in all but title for the territory. *The Annals of the Four Masters* described her as "like the mother of Machabees who joined a man's heart to a woman's thought." [Cited in Sean O'Faolain, *The Great O'Neill: A Biography of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone 1550-1616* (London: Longmans, 1942), 121.] For further information on Fionnuala Nic Dhomhnaill, see Michelle Boyle, "Iníon Dubh – Forgotten Heroine," *AnPhoblacht*, 20 Dec. 2007, http://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/17950. Accessed May 28, 2014.

[103] For more information on the role of Irish women within Celtic mythology, see Condren, *The Serpent and the Goddess*; Peter Ellis Berresford, *Celtic Women* (London: Constable, 1995); Carolyn Larrington, *The Feminist Companion to Mythology* (London: Pandora, 1992); and Lyn Webster Wilde, *Celtic Women in Legend, Myth and History* (London: Blandford Press, 1997).

[104] For more on this, see Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued…*

[105] For more on the rights of women under Brehon law, see Myles Dillon, "The relationship of mother and son, of father and daughter, and the law of inheritance with regard to women," in D. A. Binchy and Myles Dillon (eds.), *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1936), 129–79; D.A. Binchy, "Ancient Irish Law," *Irish Jurist*, 84:1(1966); and O'Dowd and Wichert, *Chattel, Servant or Citizen*.

Davies) in 1606, and which were afterward treated as having the force of law, decreed the abolition of the customs of partible inheritance and illegitimate succession, and concluded with a direction that

> as where married women among them claim and hold goods in severalty from their husbands, we think it meet [that] … the property of all their goods shall be adjudged in the husbands, according unto the due course of the common laws.[106]

No longer were there two equal partners in marriage. Rather, under the English common law, a woman lost her legal identity upon marriage; it merged into that of her husband under the feudal doctrine of coverture. The result created the fiction that the husband and wife were one and that entity was the husband. Thus, a married woman lost her power of personal independence and that of separate action in legal matters. The fundamental basis of the marital relationship was not equal, but rather reciprocal, rights to each other – the husband had to support his wife and children while the wife was expected to act as a companion, housewife and mother in return. Colonialism sought to reflect this relationship between man and wife, England and Ireland.

However, both Irish and English women played a vital role as the medium through which dynastic and family networks were established and were, therefore, essential for the maintenance of order and continuity. Within the sixteenth-century world of Europe, women sometimes assumed political roles. Often engaging in many of the same political activities as men, women aspired to attain the same goals, including protecting their families' interests as well as obtaining wealth and power.[107] Historians argue that when English women participated in such events, it

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[106] Francis Bickley (ed.) *Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings*, Vol. IV (London: Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts, 1928), 153.

[107] Recent scholarship on early modern England and Scotland has studied this phenomenon including James Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1500* (London: Ashgate, 2004); Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (eds.), *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008).

"neither threatened nor stimulated debate about the male monopoly of formal political institutions."[108] English women's participation in the political realm was understood in terms of its affirmation of the patriarchal basis of society and politics. Yet, when Irish women did the same as English women – whether as envoys, hostage negotiators, or interpreters – English men found it threatening and disturbing. The question that arises is what was the reasoning for this difference in perception? How was it affected by England's grappling with a female monarchy?

In sixteenth-century Ireland and England, the vast majority of women, like the majority of men, had little share in the political processes that governed their lives. Defined primarily by their relationships to men – as mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or lovers – most women passed their lives subsumed by family. Yet the framework of these early modern communities bestowed considerable political influence on aristocratic women. Some women from leading families were able to gain power, privilege, and responsibility "generally deemed incongruent with their 'nature' as weak, dependent beings."[109] As Barbara Harris has argued, women who were present in this very political and public world aided in developing, preserving, and utilizing networks through which wealth and power flowed.[110] While not necessarily in the same numbers or roles as men, women often moved without constraint in the world of politics because they were as fulfilling duties that were purely feminine – mother, wife, and widow. Thus within these familial duties, social activities became a source of negotiation that allowed women to strengthen and perpetuate the networks that would allow their families to survive and thrive.

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[108] William Palmer, "Gender, Violence, and Rebellion in Tudor & Early Stuart Ireland," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 699-712, 700.

[109] Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert (eds.), *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 5.

[110] Barbara Harris, "Women and Politics in Early Tudor England," *Historical Journal*, Vol. 33, no. 2 (1990): 259-81.

While misogyny in the Tudor period is generally viewed as widespread, there was something distinctive about English hostility towards Irish women in particular. Sixteenth-century English colonial thought merged images of disorderly women and rebellious men and blamed Irish women, in part, for why Ireland was so difficult to govern. The Irish were regarded as being "so addicted to treachery and breach of fidelity that they respect neither pledge, affinity, nor duty."[111] In his correspondence with Robert Cecil, Sir John Davies argued that the "insolence of those mountain kernes has ever bred in the Irishry a scorn and contempt of the English government" that made the island so rebellious.[112] Accused of being "conveyors of all mischief against the English Pale," Irish women – both those of Gaelic Irish and Hiberno-Norman heritage – were recognized as being capable of inciting and participating in seditious and disorderly behavior.[113] The topos of *mundus inversus*, or "the world turned upside down," was reflected in Ireland where, according to one Englishman, "many men pass water sitting down and many women do it standing up."[114] Thus, women constituted a group of masterless people, whose presence and potential for political action was enough to raise alarm.

The fear regarding what these Irish women represented was grounded in historical events. Within Hiberno-Norman political maneuvering, Sir Gerald McShane in 1527 would swear with his "right hand solemnly upon the Holy Mass book and great relic of Ireland" and blame Sir

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[111] Lord Deputy in Ireland to the English Privy Council in August 1581, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Salisbury Manuscripts, 24 vols. (London, 1883-1976), Vol. 2, 421.

[112] Sir John Davies to Robert Cecil, 1604, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland 1603-1606*, (London, 1860-1912), 159.

[113] Jane E. A. Dawson, "Two Kingdoms or Three? Ireland in Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Middle of the Sixteenth century," in Roger Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 128.

[114]William Caxton, *The Description of Britain: A Modern Rendering*, Marie Collins (ed.) (New York: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd, 1988), 161.

Walter Delahide and his wife and the Lady Ellis "for instigating the O'Conor rebellion." Because Lady Ellis was considered so treacherous, the earl of Kildare warned her father that if his daughter came to Ireland before him, he was not to return himself.[115] While the Earl of Kildare himself rebelled in 1534, Thomas Cromwell was told that Dame Janet Eustace, who was Sir Walter Delahide's wife and the earl of Kildare's aunt, "was the chief counsellor and stirrer of this inordinate rebellion."[116] William Lynch and Edward Beck shared this opinion: "She is the great causer of this insurrection," said Beck. Countering this thought was Richard Stanihurst, who in an observation about women's involvement in rebellions, commented that Kildare commanded his daughter Elice Fitzgerald "to excite in his name the aforesaid traitors to this open rebellion" against English authority.[117] Within the patriarchal family structure, Stanihurst saw Elice Fitzgerald as acting as a dutiful daughter, following her father's wishes. However, as one historian has argued, "If it made sense to describe the state as a family and the Crown as patriarch, it also made sense to express the challenge to authority [as presented in this rebellion] in feminine terms."[118] By resisting English authority, this unruly woman was a potent symbol of and incitement to social disorder because she inverted the expected roles of a dominant male (colonizer) and a subordinate female (colonized).

English men continued to level these types of charges at both Gaelic Irish and Hiberno-Norman women throughout the Tudor and early Stuart eras. William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley,

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[115] *Calendar of State Papers - Ireland, 1509-1573,* 7.

[116] J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Library at Lambeth,* 3 vols. (London, 1867), Vol. 1, 61.

[117] Richard Stanihurst, "The Chronicles of Ireland," in Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1807-8), 283.

[118] Phyllis Mack, "Women as Prophets during the English Civil War," in Margaret C. Jacob and James Jacob (eds.), *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984), 216.

was told by Sir Warham St. Leger in 1583 that after four years of rebellion, the Earl of Desmond had "his wicked wife acquainted with his determination to submit." According to St. Leger, she "had been the chief trainer of her husband into this rebellion."[119] This charge reflected the belief that Irish women were not only "consequently dishonest," but also able to

> inkindle the like fire afresh, and so consequentlie dishonest their wiues, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mood to be hornewood.[120]

This comment by Raphael Holinshed implied that Irish women caused their husbands to abandon English civilization. According to many English thinkers, Irish women harbored attitudes and took actions that were antithetical to civil government. In 1588, for example, Sir Richard Bingham would charge that Hugh O'Donnell's wife "hath of late caused Hugh Mac a Callye to be murdered."[121] Just as the actions of Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth were understood as aberrant and devious, the actions of Irish women and the colonized were considered deviant in contrast to the acceptable violence of men and conquerors. As in "the Scottish play," actions considered unacceptable stemmed from and were associated with women. The use of manipulation rather than the more physical acts of violence and rebellion that men employed was a more sinister form of resistance. Like Lady Macbeth, Irish women were seen as driving forces behind the actions of their men, even when they were not on the stage.

Intensifying the gendered views of the English about the Irish, Irish women did indeed play active roles during several of the sixteenth-century rebellions. During rebellions, women in high positions often undertook diplomatic roles that traditionally were considered more

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[119] *Calendar of State Papers - Ireland, 1574-1585*, 427.

[120] Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1807-8), 32. Hornewood is a reference to drift wood, a form of marine debris.

[121] *Calendar of State Papers - Ireland, 1586-1588*, 518.

appropriate for men.[122] The fact that they were empowered to act as negotiators strongly suggested to English observers that these women were capable of inciting and participating in seditious and disorderly behavior. Seen as having both a civilizing as well as sobering effect, marriage of a Gaelic or Hiberno-Norman man to an English woman was encouraged in an effort to control the Irish lords. This belief was in accordance with practices in which English planters were discouraged from marrying local girls as it was assumed that they could corrupt stable Englishmen. The focus on racial and gender prejudices that is demonstrated through these practices emphasized the English perception of Irish women as disorderly and rebellious, with a particular capacity to incite men to rebellion.

While the English deplored the influence of Irish women on their men, paradoxically the domineering actions of Irish chieftains towards their wives and mistresses appalled them. One English commentator noted that Irish chieftains had a "common repudiation of their wives, their promiscuous generation of children and their neglect of lawful matrimony."[123] Within the sphere of marital and sexual customs, the English found Gaelic standards most abhorrent. Confronted by Gaelic laws of marriage and divorce that were very different from their own, the English responded with a blanket condemnation of Gaelic immorality. "Surely," wrote Sir Henry Sidney, "there was never people of worse minds, for matrimony among them is no more

[122] Examples of this role women played include when the Earl of Kildare was summoned to Henry VIII's court in 1534 and it was his wife that appeared. (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21 vols. (London, 1862-1932), 6: 511 (1249). Additional instances include the appearance of the Earl of Desmond's wife before the Lord Justice to beg for her husband's pardon in the Desmond Rebellion of 1579-1573 as well as the report that the mother of Hugh O'Donnell was sent to hire Scottish gallowglasses. (William Camden, *Annals, or the Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, the Late Queen of England* (London, 1635), 210, 212; *Calendar of State Papers - Ireland, 1599-1600*, 159.)

[123] Sir John Davies, *Historical Relations*, 110.

regarded than conjunction between unreasonable beasts."[124] Expressing a view that was widespread in the sixteenth century, one English chronicler claimed, that the Irish "indulge in incest, for example in marrying - or rather debauching - the wives of their dead brothers."[125] The chronicler Roger of Howden referred in passing to the supposed Gaelic practices of polygamy and incest. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury accused the Irish of wife-swapping – "exchanging their wives as freely as other men exchange horses."[126] As a means of controlling inheritance, an Irish woman would often marry a relative of her late husband in order to ensure that monies and property (however much or little) remained within the family and clan. While hostility towards the "mere Irish" was a longstanding part of the English public consciousness about the "Other," these cultural misunderstanding allowed the New English to feel superior and justified in their attempts to "civilize" the Irish – a category in which the English included *all* of whom were born in that isle.

There is a certain irony in the way English observers were horrified by the manner in which Irish men treated Irish women. These same observers saw Irish women as being rebellious, incendiary, and perpetrators of violence against the Tudor rule. Irish women were considered harlots, who were brought up to be "more lewd than lewdness…itself." Thus, it is surprising that the English would have such a strong reaction then to Irish males' treatment of the very figures they saw as opposing the establishment of order and stability.[127] Linked to this belief in Irish women's "wanton idleness, imprudent and immodest boldness" was the contempt

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[124] Cited in John Gillingham, "Images of Ireland: 1170-1600: The Origins of English Imperialism," *History Today*, Vol. 37, no. 2 (Feb. 1987): 16-26, 19.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid., 18.

for their religious beliefs.[128] One English author claimed that "the Popish religion was agreeable to the Irish humor in that having committed murder, incest, theft, by hearing a mass or obtaining a pardon they feel forgiven."[129] Priests were identified as having a mighty influence on women and thus, through them, an influence on their husbands. While Protestants often complained that women were more susceptible to the arcane practices of priests and Jesuits, this problem was especially compelling in Ireland where Catholicism was also connected to ignorance and barbarity.

Not only were Irish women viewed as excessively attached to their Catholic faith, their excessive use of alcohol was seen as leading to their bawdy behavior. While this vice was objectionable in men, it was far worse in women as it went hand in hand with lust and promiscuity. According to Barnabe Riche, Ireland presented "so few modest women as at this present age."[130] The inability to resist the temptations of alcohol suggested, much like promiscuity, an inability to control one's desires. Sexual and social segregation exacerbated rather than allayed the friction between the Irish and the English. A prime example of this was the consternation and alarm felt amongst the English in Ireland over the practice of fosterage. Fosterage was the Brehon practice of placing children with potential allies and patrons. Familial ties allowed not only for a broad network of potential allies, but also for the perpetuation of this alliance into the next generation.

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[128] Barnabe Riche, *The Irish hubbub, or, The English hue and crie briefly pursuing the base conditions, and most notorious offences of the vile, vaine, and wicked age, no lesse smarting then tickling : a merriment whereby to make the wise to laugh, and fooles to be angry* (London, 1619), 4.

[129] 10 June, 1582, letter from Sir Henry Wallop to William Cecil, cited in James Godkin, *The Land War In Ireland: A History for the Times* (London: Macmilan and Co., 1870), 85.

[130] Riche, 4.

> The practice was of considerable political importance for the person fostered could count on the adherence of his foster family through his life… Conversely, the fosterers would also reap the benefits of support and protection.[131]

However, this system not only threatened systems of inheritance based on primogeniture, but also contributed to a process of Gaelicization. The English unsuccessfully attempted to appropriate this practice in order to peacefully strengthen their own networks. Hugh O'Neill was demonstrative of this failure. He was best known for leading the Irish resistance during the Nine Years War, even though the Hovenedens, an English family residing in the Pale, had fostered him. Leading a rebellion to secure his position in Ulster, he fought so "that all principal governments of Ireland, as Connaught, Munster, etc., be governed by Irish noblemen."[132]

Tudor Ireland saw the invention, rise, fall, resurgence, and ultimate demise of a cultural "middle ground" as the Gaelic Irish, Hiberno-Norman, and New English populations interacted with each other.[133] Cultural brokers filled particular niches that allowed them as individuals to co-create unique economic, political, and diplomatic worlds. The convergence of differing ideas concerning lineage and law in Ireland during this period allowed for the emergence of leadership positions acquired through unconventional means. The cultural encounters that occurred as Tudor England sought control of Gaelic Ireland created spaces in which even the most unlikely candidates could step into positions of power.

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[131] Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972), 79.

[132] Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowel (eds.), "Hugh O'Neill's War Aims, 1599," in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), 119-120.

[133] Richard White's idea of a middle ground is a hybridization of social conventions that occurs as a results of no one group being able to dominate by force played out across a landscape marked by turmoil. [Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)].

"She seemed well used to power, as one that hath Dominion over men of savage mood."
Sir Henry Sidney (1577)

Chapter 3 The Other Queen: Ethnicity, Patriarchy, and Authority

By the end of the sixteenth century, the English perception of both Ireland and Irish women was of the "Other," who could not – and should not – speak; English colonization demanded that the voices of Irish women be silent and passive. The Irish female voice became the voice of the Other, heard (if at all) only as "strangled, altered, [and] distorted."[1] However, some "wild Irish women" were a potent symbol of social disorder, challenging this assertion of colonial hegemony. When "disorderly" women like Gráinne Ní Mháille challenged the male voice, it created a breach between the colonizer and colonized, which disputed the very foundations of colonialism. Their resistance did not simply oppose English authority and power, but was created by it.[2] Women like Gráinne Ní Mháille became the voice for those who led the opposition against being delegated to an inferior status and allowed for a "past to legitimate; a vengeance to exact."[3]

As the Tudors expanded their presence in sixteenth-century Ireland, Irish women became a focus of gender and racial prejudice. Blamed in part for why Ireland was so difficult to govern, Irish women posed a recognizable danger to the establishment of English order and stability. Yet, both Ireland and its women often refused to be passive and silent victims of English

[1] Carlo Ginzberg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, Raymond Rosenthal (trans.) (New York: Pantheon, 1991), 10.

[2] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1475-1490, 1480.

[3] Frantz Fanon, "The Fact of Blackness," in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 326.

violence or willing recipients of English culture. Rather, they were skilful adapters to new circumstances.

Gráinne Ní Mháille was one of the Irish women of the Tudor period who moved beyond the more common female sphere of influence. She became recognized as a leader of men in a colonial society that was reluctant to formally acknowledge women's presence in the political arena. The social and sexual transgressions of the Irish "Pirate Queen," who rejected English (and Irish) ideals of domesticity, presented a subversive commentary on the gender relations of the time. While both contemporary English administrators and later Irish nationalists often saw Gráinne as a defiant rebel engaged in a life or death struggle with the English, she was also a leader struggling to survive in an environment undergoing profound social and political changes as England attempted to assert its control over Ireland.

As English colonization proceeded in Ireland, gender became a major focal point in colonial exchanges and contestations for power. In *The First Blast Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), Scotsman John Knox railed against what he deemed as the abomination of female monarchy and argued that female authority as demonstrated by Mary, Queen of Scotland, her mother and Dowager Queen, Mary Guise, and Mary Tudor of England was contrary to the Bible. While opposing these Catholic queens on religious grounds, he expressed contemporary European thoughts about women and power as being an unnatural union.[4]

[4] For more on the debate regarding the rule of women, see Constance Jordan, "Women's Rule in Sixteenth century British Political Thought," *Renaissance Quarterly,* Vol. 40 (1987): 421-451; James Emerson Phillips, "The Background to Spenser's Attitude Toward Women Rulers," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol. V (1941-2): 5-32; Paula Louise Scalingi, "The Scepter and The Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516-1607," *The Historian,* Vol. XLI (1978): 59-75; Richard L. Greaves, *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation:*

> …[God] denied to woman power to commande man, and hath taken away wisdome to consider, and providence to forsee the thinges, that, be profitable to the common wealth: yea finallie he hath denied to her in any case to be head to man: but plainly hath pronounced that man is head to woman … no more will he admit, nor accept woman to be the lauful head ouer man… he will never permit her to reigne ouer manie. Seeing he hath commanded her to heare, and obey one, he will not suffre that she speake, and with usurped authoritie command realmes and nations.[5]

This tract expounded arguments that one scholar called "universal and international," though Knox's intended audience was the people of England.[6] As it reveals, the succession of female rulers in England and throughout Europe during the sixteenth century challenged the common belief that no natural or historical circumstances justified female authority.

The beliefs expressed by Knox were tied in part to the idea that a husband was "head" to his wife in all things, including in having title to her property.[7] Shakespeare's play *Othello* illustrates this view of the function of women in marriage when Othello offers these words to his wife:

> Come, my dear,
> The purchase made,
> The fruits are to ensue.[8]

Marriage is thus, at least in this passage, an act of purchase where a woman is acquired by her husband, essentially as a favour to her, and where she is expected to satisfy his sexual desires in

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Studies in the Thought of John Knox (Washington, DC: Christian University Press, 1980), Ch. 8.

[5] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, Edward Arber (ed.) (London, 1878).

[6] Jane E. A. Dawson, "The Two John Knoxes: England, Scotland and the 1558 Tracts," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 42, no. 4 (October 1991): 555-576, 559.

[7] *Holy Bible*, Genesis 3:16.

[8] William Shakespeare, *Othello, The Moore of Venice* (1603) (Bloomsbury: Arden Shakespeare, 1996), Act II, scene 3, 8-9.

return for the honor of being purchased. In reality, the situation was more complicated. While English men had higher legal status than women did as well as the power to enforce the subordination of women (and children) within the household, they were also threatened by the powers they attributed to female sexuality and unsure of their own ability to dominate. The virtues of chastity, silence, and obedience were valued in women, in part, because early modern males feared women's motives and behaviors. Assertive female behavior, interpreted in sexual terms, was seen as leaving men weak and exposed. Portrayed as more lustful than men, women supposedly were given over to the extremes of emotion. Perceiving women as "possessing a powerful and potentially destructive sexuality which made them naturally lascivious, predatory and, most serious of all, once their desire was fully aroused, insatiable," meant that Englishmen "acutely felt anxiety in Tudor [England] … about how women could best be governed and controlled."[9] Tudor England was characterized not only by simple misogyny, but also by men's struggle to enforce their own superiority through the upholding of women's dependence on, and the subordination to, man in all spheres of life.[10] Mirrored in the sixteenth-century process of Irish colonization was this struggle for dominance

English patriarchal attitudes, which shaped the relationship of monarch to subject as well as colonizer to colonized, reflected the daily, intimate relation of husband and wife. The traditional social roles of wife and mother continued to define women, as illustrated by the

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[9] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 5, 27.

[10] Subordination means "something else is less important that the other thing." [*Advanced Illustrated Dictionary* (London: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd, 2010), 1559.] The *Advanced Learners Dictionary* further notes that "subordination means having less power or authority than somebody else in a group or an organization." [A.S. Hornby (ed.), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1296.] For further discussion, see Abeda Sultana, "Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis," *The Arts Faculty Journal*, Vol. 4 (July 2010-June 2011): 1-18, esp. 1-11.

pressures put on Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen, to marry and bear an heir. A good marriage – one that was both economically and politically advantageous to one's family – was the objective of most women's lives. Once married, husbands expected women to produce heirs while running households. While status prescribed the precise duties a woman had, her basic role as subordinate and child bearer effectively stayed the same no matter what her social standing or political position during the early modern period. She was expected to obey first her father and then her husband – "They submitted themselves to their own husbands, like Sarah, who obeyed Abraham and called him her lord."[11] This European system of male domination was an attempt to limit the dangers ascribed to womanhood and the fear of women's intentions and behavior.

While subordinate to men in the gender hierarchy, women were considered by at least some early modern men as having a secret, bountiful, malicious "power," as the following statement in the *Malleus Maleficarum,* one of the major continental witch-hunting manuals, makes clear:

> All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman… What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an unescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, domestic danger, a delectable detriment, an evil nature, painted with fair colours… Women are by nature instruments of Satan -- they are by nature carnal, a structural defect rooted in the original creation.[12]

Obsessing over women's motives and behaviors, men were left feeling, as a modern historian has described it, "intensely vulnerable and unprotected."[13] Sustained by force, the sixteenth-century

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[11] *Holy Bible,* 1 Peter 3:5-6.

[12] Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kraemer, *Malleus Maleficarum,* 1486, in Montague Summers (trans.), *The Malleus Maleficarum, Or The Hammer of Witches* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 44.

[13] Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 5.

English system of patriarchy placed no legal restraint on a husband, as suggested by the following proverb:

> A spaniel, a woman and a walnut tree
> The more they're beaten the better they be.[14]

Playing out both domestically and colonially, English attempts to control women expressed the anxiety and fear of the Tudor period.

The sixteenth-century phenomenon of female rule gave new energy to the long-standing controversy about the ability of women to govern and reflected larger issues regarding the role of women in society. This trend brought to the fore lasting disputes about the appropriateness of women controlling their own destinies, along with newer concerns about the suitability of women exercising authority over others – whether in the state or the household.[15] Through both visual and verbal imagery, many female leaders of the sixteenth century were able to fashion novel ways of projecting and communicating their power. As England's Elizabeth I aptly proved, images could be potent vehicles for the promotion of authority and identity. While recognizing her femininity, Elizabeth I's identity as woman would become secondary to her identity as the English monarch. Protestant reformer Thomas Becon accepted that:

> whensoever God shall call [Queen Elizabeth], I perceive we are not like to be governed by a lady shut up in a chamber from all her subjects and most of her

[14] John Ray, *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs: Also the Most Celebrated Proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish, and Other Languages: The Whole Methodically Digested and Illustrated with Annotations, and Proper Explications* (London: J. Hughs, 1737), 46.

[15] For further discussion, see Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 102-140; Merry Wiesner, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50-85; Lisa DiCaprio and Merry E. Wiesner (ed.), *Lives and Voices: Sources in European Women's History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 176-209.

> servants, and seen seld but on holidays … but by a man of spirit and learning, of able body, of understanding mind.[16]

Elizabeth's female voice would be muted in order for her masculine power and authority to be heard.

As Queen of England, Elizabeth I owed her ascent to the throne to neither husband nor son, but to supporters who pressed her claim as the daughter of Henry VIII. While declared illegitimate in 1536, Elizabeth and her older sister Mary (the future Mary I) were returned to the line of succession in the *Act of Succession 1543*. After the death of her younger brother Edward VI and her sister Mary, Elizabeth would inherit the throne in 1558 due to her Tudor blood as well as her Protestant faith. Good Queen Bess would rule England for more than four decades, both challenging and supporting the English patriarchal system.

Not only was Elizabeth I one of the most powerful women of her day, but she also broke new ground in image making, cultivating a system of self-portrayal that glorified her virginity as the source of her power. While reigning autonomously for forty-five years, Elizabeth preferred to be seen not as an old maid, but rather the "Virgin Queen." Elizabeth knew that any woman, even a queen, was subject to her husband's authority and that this situation was incompatible with her vision of herself as ruler of England. While acknowledging that even virginity implied a definition of self driven by one's relationship to men, Elizabeth cultivated a system of symbols for use in portraits as well as decorative and commemorative pieces that positioned her as a woman apart from the traditional subservience of woman to man. Presented as an act of self-sacrifice, Elizabeth's virginity would symbolize England's independence.

[16] Cited in Susan Doran, "Elizabeth I: Gender, Power and Politics," *History Today*, Vol. 53, no. 5 (2003): 29-30, 29.

Cultivating an almost asexual image, Elizabeth I acknowledged her sex as a woman at the same time as not identifying her gender with other women. While acknowledging having "the body of a weak and feeble woman," she asserted she had the "heart and stomach of a king."[17] Through careful self-crafting, Elizabeth's identity became entwined with that of England's nationhood, and that image has continued to exist in people's memory. As Julia Walker has argued, "by turning herself from a woman into a thing, Elizabeth… [became] the human imagination's picture of supreme earthly power made manifest."[18] In order to fulfill her God-given role to become a mother and yet stay a virgin, Elizabeth became mother to her subjects including those in Ireland and the New World colony of Virginia. Thus, English expansion legitimated her rule without a king by her side. Ultimately, her association with monarchy and nation allowed her image to be celebrated and preserved, both popularly and politically.

Elizabeth I's appropriation of gendered ideas changed the meaning of "monarch" to include more than "king." Her modification of the "icons of rule: the human body with more than human powers externalized…" entwined her body with that of England.[19] While claiming a life of perpetual virginity, Elizabeth I engaged in a symbolic marriage with England as her husband.

> And therefore it is, that I have made choyce of this kinde of life, which is most free, and agreeable for such humane affaires as may tend to his [God's] service ... and this is that I thought, then that I was a private person. But when the publique charge of governing the Kingdome came upon mee, it seemed unto mee an inconsiderate folly, to draw upon my selfe the cares which might proceede of

[17] Elizabeth I, "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury," 19 August 1588. This speech was given as England prepared for invasion by King Philip of Spain and his Armada. [Cited in Janet M. Green, "'I My Self": Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (Summer 1997), 421-445, 430.]

[18] Julia M. Walker, *The Elizabeth Icon, 1603-2003* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 1.

[19] Ibid., 1, 4.

> marriage. To conclude, I am already bound unto an Husband, which is the Kingdome of England … (And therwithall, stretching out her hand, shee shewed them the Ring with which she was given in marriage, and inaugurated to her Kingdome, in expresse and solemne terms.) And reproch mee so no more, (quoth shee) that I have no children: for every one of you, and as many are English, are my Children … Lastly, this may be sufficient, both for my memorie, and honour of my Name, if when I have expired my last breath, this may be inscribed upon my Tombe:
> Here lyes interr'd ELIZABETH,
> A virgin pure untill her Death.[20]

Used as a political weapon, her very virginity was a tool, which she used to "turn the political liability of her gender to advantage for nearly half a century."[21] One scholar has argued that Elizabeth "defended her maidenly freedom and royal prerogative against … patriarchal expectations," which legitimated "her desire for autonomy among men by invoking a higher patriarchal authority . . . of her heavenly father, the ultimate ground of her sovereignty."[22] Thus, the English Queen's manipulation of political language and images adapted a patriarchal vocabulary that became a paradoxical symbol of *her* power and of England.

The notion of power perpetuated by Elizabeth I differs from that of Gráinne Ní Mháille, whose identity was centered not on nation, but rather on clan. Unlike Elizabeth, Gráinne's power and legitimacy within her clan stemmed primarily from her competency and actions, rather than from her blood lineage. Within Gaelic traditions, leadership positions were based on the system of tanistry, in which any suitable male from within the kin-group could gain the

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[20] William Camden, *Annales: The True and Royall History of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, etc. True Faith's Defendresse of Divine Renowne and Happy Memory* (1625), Book 1, 26, translated from *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicaruni, regnante Elizabeth* (1615), 27-29.

[21] Louis Adrian Montrose, "The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text," in Patricia Parker and David Quinn (eds.), *Literary Theory / Renaissance Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986): 303-40, 309-10.

[22] Ibid., 314-315, 321-28.

position of leader.[23] While Gráinne challenged the male prerogative, it was her capability as a leader that gave her power, recognized not only by her followers, but also by English administrators. Thus, the difference between the negotiation of power over a nation and a clan would represent central political differences between the English and Irish.

Founded on traditional Irish kinship groups, clan or *túath* referred to both the territory and the people living in that territory. Within the *túath*, the social structure was composed of "temporary, contractual relationships between clients and sponsors."[24] Historian Kenneth Nicholls has described clan structure as similar to the modern corporation, where "mergers" allowed clans to expand and shrink based on the evolving needs of the clan.[25] Thus, not only were Irish clans such as the O'Malleys composed of those who were related by blood, but also included those adopted and fostered into the clan.[26] Under Gráinne, the O'Malley clan grew as men from the O'Flaherty clan joined for strategic reasons such as safety and access to resources. Thus, Gaelic identity was a series of overlapping identities – that of *sept* or family, that of *túath* or clan, that of *fir Éirenn* or the People of Ireland – as well as that of *Gaedhil* or Gael, an ethnic identity based on language shared by the Celtic peoples of Scotland and Ireland. These identities ebbed and flowed based on the times, often with clan loyalty vying against an ethnic identity

[23] Tanistry was an Irish custom based on Brehon law for the passing on of lands and titles. The elected successor or *taniste* to the chieftain was chosen during the chieftain's lifetime. For further information on tanistry, see "The Case of Tanistry (Le Case de Tanistry) – Case Summary," *Australian Indigenous Law Reporter*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (2001): 73-81.

[24] James A. Delle, "'A Good and Easy Speculation': Spatial Conflict, Collusion and Resistance in Late Sixteenth Century Munster, Ireland," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1999): 11-35, 20.

[25] Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003), 9-10.

[26] O'Malley is the English transliteration of Mháille.

opposing the English. The fact remains that "ethnic identities within Gaeldom [Ireland and Scotland] were more complex than elsewhere within the [British] archipelago."[27]

Although a common heritage of cultural and social institutions provided a strong sense of collective identity, Gaelic Irish society lacked any central institutions of government. This structure failed to give the community as a whole coherence as an organized political entity. Even its collective identity tended to be concentrated around a local structure of dynastic power and government. However, the Tudors attempted to unify the island's pluralistic community into a coherent political entity by proposing the political objective of peace and good government through the introduction of English common law and customs to *all* parts of Ireland. By the 1540s, the political life of both the Gaelic Irish and the Hiberno-Normans was unstable and fragmented. With the island divided into an aggregate of about sixty lordships of varying sizes, some great lords such as those of O'Neill and Desmond attempted to exert suzerainty over lesser lords.[28] Others such as the O'Malleys sought simply to maintain their independence from outside pressures. Still others, including the powerful clan of Bourkes, struggled to prevent internal rivalries from producing further fragmentations.[29] The dominant political mode was that

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[27] "Gaeldom" in this context references both the Scottish Gaelic identity as well as the Irish Gaelic identity. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, *The British Problem, 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 8.

[28] See Figure 5 in the Appendix, which shows Ireland's counties along with the larger clans. Additionally, it shows the plantation and settlement of English and Scottish settlers from 1556-1620.

[29] The O'Neills were Gaelic leaders from Ulster, who controlled a large powerbase throughout Ireland. Seen as one of the major indigenous threats to Crown control, the O'Neills alternately received recognition from the Crown (including being given the earldom of Tyrone) and served as a target for Crown hostilities. See Peter Berresford Ellis, *Erin's Blood Royal: The Gaelic Noble Dynasties of Ireland* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 227-249. The title "Earl of Desmond" has traditionally been held by lords in Ireland, first as a title outside the peerage system and later as part of the Peerage of Ireland. The title was associated with the Anglo-Norman Fitzgerald family, who became assimilated into Irish society. Gerald Fitzgerald was the last Earl of Desmond. Having resisted the Tudor Reformation, Fitzgerald

of chronic, if generally moderate, war-making and ceaseless intrigue, faction formation, and betrayal.

Because of the practices of Gaelic land tenure, inheritance, and authority, social fluidity existed within traditional Irish society. However, the English saw these practices as anarchistic, however well adapted they might be to the pastoral society of Ireland.[30] Sir William Herbert even advocated in 1588 for the "extinguishment of certain barbarous customs and usages," particularly tanistry, which was contrary to English patrilineal practices.[31] Hence, sixteenth-century England was united under one monarch, which the English deemed as a natural and superior form of government, while the Irish had no need or use for it. Ireland contained a myriad of semi-independent chieftainries, which were the basis for Gaelic Ireland's social, economic, and political structures.[32] Thus, while clans offered protection and some sort of authority to their members, this clan-based identity was arguably antithetical in the sixteenth century to the forging of a nation.[33] Clan identity and related rivalries prevented the Irish from

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and his followers would be defeated and he would be killed in 1583. His title and family estates were forfeit to the English crown. See Ellis, 38-39, 109-112; Gerald O'Carroll, *The Earls of Desmond: The Rise and Fall of A Munster Lordship* (New York: Polymaths Press, 2013).

[30] During the early modern period in Ireland, Gaelic society was far less sedentary than either English or Anglo-Irish society. Farming along with a mixed (though predominantly pastoral) economy prevailed depending on climatic conditions. For further discussion of this, see John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[31] *State Papers of Ireland*, 63/135/58.

[32] These chieftainries included both Gaelic Irish clans such as the O'Neills and the O'Flahertys as well as Hiberno-Norman families such as the Bourkes and the Fitzgeralds.

[33] The differences between Scottish and Irish clans influenced how their related populations responded to nation-making. Scottish clans, which were based on political alliances and strategy, differed from Irish clans, in which lineage was the defining element. Scottish clans had feudal elements, which created a more centralized Scottish system when compared to the separateness of Irish clans. [Kenneth Nichols, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle*

developing a larger island-wide sense of community that would be needed to achieve true nationhood in the modern form. Ireland was left in this decentralized state, for the most part undisturbed, until the Tudor dynasty.

By 1588, with the loss of Calais, England had been forced to renounce its dreams of a continental empire; instead, England now concentrated on the British Isles, including Ireland.[34] With a more centralized government, the Crown was now less accepting of deviations from English customs. With this change in vision, and with the incorporation of Wales into the Kingdom of England by the mid-sixteenth century, the Crown's focus on Ireland intensified.[35] The independent Gaelic chieftains and their clans became associated with the lack of order and stability that the English saw as prevalent in Ireland, compelling the Crown to intervene in a more active manner in Gaelic Ireland; England as the parent, as it were, had to quell its unruly Irish child.[36]

Ages (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972), 8-11; Norman C. Milne, *Scottish Culture and Traditions* (Paragon Publishing, 2010), 14-15.]

[34] The British Isles refers to the cluster of islands off the northwestern coast of continental Europe. Consisting of more than 6,000 small islands, the two largest islands include Great Britain (where England, Scotland, and Wales are located) as well as Ireland (including both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland today). The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the first English use of the phrase "Brytish Iles" to be in John Dee's 1577 work *Arte of Navigation.* Due to the post-colonial discourse, modern scholars are more wary of this term and it is being used here only as a geographic reference.

[35] The *Laws in Wales Acts 1535 and 1542* were aimed at establishing a single state and single legal jurisdiction between England and Wales. These parliamentary measures introduced English common law and the norms of English administration to Wales.

[36] For further discussion concerning the change in Tudor policy, see Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community, and the Conflict of Cultures 1470–1603* (London: Longman, 1985). For discussion of Ireland as the "Irish child," see "The Earl of Surrey's Geraldine-Sonnet Contextualized: Cultural (Mis-)Representations of Ireland in the Early Modern, the Enlightened and the Contemporary Period," in Sonja Fielitz & Uwe Meyer (eds.), *Shakespeare. Satire. Academia. Essays in Honour of Wolfgang Weiss* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2012), 167-85: 173-174.

Gaelic Ireland was slow to appreciate the threat inherent in the Tudor attempts at conquest so little effort was made to form a cohesive opposition. While there are few histories or political documents written by the Gaelic Irish before the seventeenth century, bardic poetry was highly political and historical in orientation. Yet even the *filí* – the writers of bardic poetry – as well as the Gaelic annalists of the sixteenth century displayed a startling ignorance of the political reality of English conquest. Often, the annalists seemed to misinterpret the evidence. Within the *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* or the *Annals of the Four Masters*, every contemporary reference to the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney was complimentary, even referencing him as the peacemaker of Ulster.[37] They failed to appreciate that it was Sidney himself who had advocated the conquest of Ulster. The Irish populaces' slow recognition of Tudor England's re-energized focus on Irish conquest meant Gaelic Ireland's political fragmentation bolstered Tudor success.

While the Gaelic Irish as a whole did not seem to recognize the fluctuations in the political climate under the Tudors, Gráinne Ní Mháille's actions reflected an individual's flexibility in dealing with a changing political and cultural landscape. Her associations with the English echoed her ability to move beyond traditional Irish or English feminine roles. While colonization conflated sexual and political subservience, the perceived relationship between gender and power gave the colonizer the ability to imaginatively refashion gender identities. The implication of this conflation was that gender was related to the performance of surrender or conquest. While Gráinne navigated a world that expected her to be simply daughter, wife, and

[37] Considered the annals for the Kingdom of Ireland, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* – or the Annals of the Four Masters to give them their best-known title – is one of the great masterpieces of Irish history from the earliest times to 1616 A.D. The work was compiled between 1632 and 1636 by a small team of historians headed by Brother Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan lay brother. He himself records in his Epistle Dedicatory: "There was collected by me all the best and most copious books of Annals that I could find throughout all Ireland, though it was difficult for me to collect them in one place." O'Clery et al., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* lvii.

mother, she also became a leader of men. This blurring of masculine and feminine identity accorded her an uncommon flexibility in dealing with the changing sixteenth-century world of Ireland. Gráinne's resiliency amidst the shifting political climate of Ireland was an extension of her experience in challenging and manipulating gender roles.

Gráinne Ní Mháille was born around the year 1530 to Dubhdara "Black Oak" O'Malley, the chieftain of the O'Malley clan. Marrying into two powerful families of western Ireland – the O'Flahertys of West Connacht and the Bourkes of Clew Bay – she would continue her family's tradition of living "by sea and by land."[38] Neither the O'Malleys nor the O'Flahertys would submit to the rule of the King's Lord Deputy, which led to an unsuccessful English attempt to deny them access to Galway Bay.[39] Contrary to English *and* Gaelic custom, Gráinne would develop her own power base of over 200 clansmen on both land and sea to raid the western shoreline of Ireland. Gráinne and her followers would survive through a "trade of maintenance by land and sea" for more than forty years.[40]

Since at least the fifth century, the part of the west coast now known as County Mayo has been the home of the O'Malley clan. By the Tudor era, this region of Ireland had become known

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[38] The O'Malleys possessed not only a fleet of ships, which were used for trade and piracy, but also owned extensive land holdings as well as herds of cattle and horses. (*State Papers of Ireland*, 63/170/19, 63, 64; 63/171/18, 35, 37; 63/177/36.)

[39] After the 12th century Norman conquest, the Irish town of Galway was seized and fortified. The O'Flaherty clan was forced into the area known as Connemara. By the fifteenth century though, the O'Flaherty clan was threatening Galway, a major Anglo-Irish port, through their control of the surrounding waters. Galway citizens would wall off their city and place on the wall the prayer "From the Ferocious O Flahertys O Lord delivers Us." In 1518, a Galway city by-law would be passed in which "neither O' ne Mac shall strutted ne swagger thru the streets of Galway." Citizens who did not receive a license to entertain their Gaelic neighbors were fined. [James Hardiman, *History of the Town and County of Galway, from the Earliest Period to the Present* (Dublin: W. Folds & Sons, 1820), 201.]

[40] *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/170/19.

by the anglicized name of Owles and would include the shores of Clew Bay as well as the islands of Clare, Inishturk, Caher, and numerous other smaller islands.[41] Local lore says there is an island in Clew Bay for every day of the year. A diverse landscape of bogs, marsh, woodland and fertile soils, its shores were swept by the sea, which shaped not only the land, but also the local families.

Selling fishing rights to foreign fleets as well as claiming the right to levy tolls for safe passage, the O'Malleys claimed lordship over both land and sea. Their motto of *terra marique potens* – powerful by land and sea – gave them traditional lordship over the seas around Ireland.[42] According to *Leabhar ne gCeart* (Book of Rights), the O'Malleys shared with the O'Flahertys the ceremonial right to command the King of Connaught's fleet.[43] As an O'Malley had wed an O'Flaherty *taniste*, Gráinne's clan would ply the waters. Tradition and history has maintained that not only did the O'Malley clan sail the local waters, but also that they traded as far as Spain.

> *Leomhain an oirir uaine*
> *eolaih oirir na Spáinne*
> *ag buain chruidh do Ceann Tíre*
> *gear míle ar muir d'ibh Máille.*
>
> They are the lions of the green sea
> Men acquainted with the land of Spaine
> When seizing cattle from Kintyre

[41] The earliest reference to this area in connection to the Mháille (O'Malley) clan is contained in the *Book of Armagh* describing the ascent of Cruachan Aigle (Eagle Mountain) by St. Patrick. Hubert T. Know, *The History of Mayo to the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 1908), 303.

[42] While this traditional lordship of the sea claimed by the O'Malleys was broadly defined, in practice is was focused around the waters off the shores of County Mayo.

[43] The *Leabhar na gCeart* was an ancient book incorporated in the *Leabhar Glin da Logh* and whose writing was attributed to St. Patrick's successor Benan (also known as Benin or Benignus). See J. O'Donovan (ed. & trans.), *Leabhar na gCeart, or the Book of Rights* (Dublin: Celtic Society, 1847).

A mile by sea is short to the O'Malleys.[44]

Documented by both the Irish annals as well as the records of the English, this clan's watery connections made them, as even the English State Papers acknowledged, "much feared everywhere by sea."[45]

According to songs and legends, Gráinne yearned to join her father on the sea even as a young child, though the life of a sailor was not for young lasses. Reserved almost exclusively for male labor, ships remained sharply gendered workplaces throughout the western world. From the earliest times, the sea has been considered a male domain, where the struggle to survive the elements and navigate the oceans was a conflict between *man* and the sea; a woman's place was understood to be safe at home when it came to affairs of the sea. Sailors were assumed to be male, with the fickle sea as their mistress. In this predominantly male world of seafaring, metaphors about mysterious and destructive femininity have been recurrent – from the wrath of "Mother Nature" to the feminized terminology used to describe a vessel, though maritime custom of the sea would restrict the majority of women from becoming seafarers.[46]

Since seafaring "made men" of those who entered the profession, the work performed was not seen as appropriate for women (or even all men). Additionally, sex was a dangerous source of conflict, which potentially could breach the male order of seafaring solidarity.[47] As a "total institution" where members worked, slept, and spent their leisure within its boundaries,

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[44] "A Poem to Tuatbal Ó Màille," *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XLIX (1932): 174.

[45] *Calendar of State Papers (Elizabeth I),* Vol. CCVI, 335.

[46] For further discussion of this, see John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2013), 191-197.

[47] Marcus Rediker, "Liberty Beneath the Jolly Roger: The Lives of Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Pirates," in C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 303.

this combination of masculinity and dangerous work held little attraction or opportunities for many men and even fewer women.[48] Moreover, many sailors had a deeply ingrained superstition against women on board ships, thinking they brought ill luck and destruction.[49] Thus, while there were no legal constraints within European societies that barred women from going to sea, this amalgamation of folklore and popular superstition created an informal barrier that was hard to break.

The social structure on board vessels reflected the patriarchal structures found on the shore. Within the patriarchal hierarchy of ship life, a captain had the power to control not only a sailor's labor, but also his very person. Within sight of the crew, any contestation of a captain's authority or mastery could be countered through physical punishment in the presence of the crew.[50] However, while patriarchal discipline buttressed the position of the captain, authority

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[48] This concept of a "total institution," while can at times includes coastal trading boats, is particularly relevant when discussing ships involved in long distance voyages. Life aboard a ship was uniquely inescapable; "an individual can only isolate themselves in a very limited and temporary manner." [Ken McCulloch, "Eving Goffman: Sail Training, Interactionism, and the "Total Institution," in Elizabeth C.J. Pike and Simon Beames (eds.), *Outdoor Adventure and Social Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2013).] The O'Malleys as well as the Lynchs of Galway were part of a lucrative trading business. The earliest mention of the name Ui Máille in the *Annals of the Four Masters* refers to the 1123 drowning of Tadhg Ua Maille. Frequent mentions from the twelfth century on reference both the O'Malleys and their maritime trading activities. [O'Clery et al., 1019.]

[49] For further discussion of superstitions about women on board a vessel, see Fletcher S. Bassett, *Legends and Supestitions of the Sea and Saolors* (Chicago: Bedford Clarke, 1885); Margaret Baker, *Folklore of the Sea* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles, 1979), 95. This fear is illustrated by Suzanne Stark's retelling of an example from the middle ages when sailors gave in to this fear with horrible consequences. At the height of a storm off the coast of Cornwall in 1379, panicking men in a fleet of ships began to throw their female passengers to the sea. Over sixty women were drowned in this way in the hope of appeasing the storm and saving themselves. It failed to work and the majority of men, including their commander, Sir John Arundel, died. [Suzanne Stark, *Female Tars Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute Press, 1996), 50.]

[50] This form of authority, which is still practiced in modern day navies, is known as the captain's mast, in which the captain of a vessel hears and acts on the cases of those crewmembers

was derived not necessarily from ownership or birth, but from ability. Therefore, while European society presumed only men entered this wet, cold world of seafaring, women sailed on ships as well. Some even steered them, commanded them, and commandeered them. As one such woman, Gráinne traversed the gender barrier within the maritime world.[51] Supposedly, when her family first denied her the right to sail on her father's vessels, she cut off her long hair in protest against being denied the call of the sea. This action earned her the nicknamed Gráinne Mhaol – "Grace the Bald." Despite the derisive title, her father allowed her to join his trading trips. Dubdhara continued to support the unorthodox lifestyle of his daughter throughout his lifetime. The knowledge that this "most famous femynyne sea capten" had not only of the physical landscape of the land, but also of the waters, gave her leverage when negotiating for herself and her family's survival.[52]

Records indicate that Gráinne did command from three to twenty ships during the length of her career.[53] Most closely associated with both her and her family was the galley, a vessel propelled by both oars and sails that was highly maneuverable in shallow waters as well as able

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charged with committing offenses. For further information, see *Origin of Navy Terminology* (Annapolis: Navy Internal Relations Activity - Print Media Division, 1975.)

[51] The gendered divides of the maritime world influenced the seafaring traditions of western Ireland, including the O'Malley clan. Within *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* genealogical information is recorded that lists those lost at sea – all are male. Criostoir MacCarthaigh discusses some of these traditions in *Traditional Boats of Ireland: History, Folklore, and Construction* (Cork: Collins Press, 2008).

[52] For further discussion of on gender and seafaring in the Atlantic World, see Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[53] *Calendar of State Papers (Elizabeth I),* Vol. CCV, 335; *State Papers of Ireland,* 63/170/64; 63/177/36.

to cross the seas carrying "300 men apiece."[54] In 1576, Gráinne offered the Lord Deputy of Ireland Sir Henry Sidney "three galleys and two hundred fighting men" that were capable of sailing anywhere in the British Isles.[55] Gráinne's maritime knowledge and assets challenged English colonial ideas about superiority. While Elizabethan England's horizon expanded by virtue of her power upon the sea, this same maritime environment provided a venue in which colonialism could be disputed.[56] The masculine world of seafaring had been mastered by not only a female, but also one who was Irish. While arguable only a single challenge, her activities contested the patriarchal society of both sailors and colonizers and demonstrated that neither patriarchal nor colonial hegemony were complete.

It is significant the *Annala Rioghachta Eireann* – the seminal chronicle of Irish history compiled shortly after her death – omitted Gráinne Ní Mháille's name, as it was a historical venue at a time when memories of her activities would still have existed.[57] The various Irish chronicles composed around this time were primarily records of events and people, with little commentary. These texts related the reigns, deaths, and genealogies of kings, distinguished families, historians, poets, etc. The chronicles recorded not only those involved in diplomacy,

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[54] *Calendar of State Papers (Elizabeth I)*, Vol. CCV, 333, 335.

[55] Ibid., 335.

[56] The defeat of the Spanish Armada was a pivotal moment in the shaping of English identity and nationalism. According to James McDermott, fears of a Spanish hegemony provided the English with "ample moral justifications for (their own) expansionist impulses." James McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada: The Necessary Quarrel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 323. See also Neil Hanson, *The Confident Hope of a Miracle: The True Story of the Spanish Armada (*New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

[57] As compilations of earlier annals, *Annala Rioghachta Eireann* were assembled between 1632 and 1636 at a Franciscan friary in County Leitrim. The four friars or "masters" were Brother Mícheál Ó Cléirigh from Ballyshannon who was assisted by Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh, Fearfeasa Ó Maol Chonaire, and Peregrine Ó Duibhgeannain. The entries date from the Deluge – dated from as 2,242 years after creation – through the medieval and early modern periods.

but also those concerned with religion such as saints, bishops, and ecclesiastical dignitaries. These works provided meager details of battles, murders, and political changes. The chronicles omitted few political and ecclesiastical events in Irish history from the birth of Christ through the beginning of the sixteenth century, yet rarely acknowledged women other than in relation to men. None of the chronicles mentioned Gráinne by name. They referred to her father, husbands, and sons, but ignore her role since Irish historians of the period did not recognize any female as being able to be a chieftain or hold political and economic power.[58] Thus, the only official references to her existence are the English records of her including her letters to the Privy Council in Ireland and England, as well as the correspondence of various statesmen of Queen Elizabeth I. In fact, the English state papers contain references to her as late as 1623, almost a quarter of a century after Gráinne's death.[59]

While the Irish chronicles ignored women, Gaelic law and custom did provide a discrete place for Irish women that varied from that afforded to aristocratic and powerful women in England. Built around the idea that an individual's identity was defined in terms of clan and personal wealth, under Brehon law the lowest clansmen stood on equal footing with the chieftain, though their honor prices might differ.[60] As such, women were nearly on equal footing

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[58] O'Clery et al., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* Vol. V, 1323, 1491, 1803. Also see Donncha O Corrain, "Women in Early Irish Society," in *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension,* Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha O Corrain (eds.) (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 1-13.

[59] In 1623, justifying the seizure of fishing rights on the borders of Mayo and Galway, the English lord deputy wrote the Privy Council that "the inhabitants whereof have been always more apt to rebellion than any in that kingdom, insomuch that the very women have born arms there, whereof one Grany ne Maly was famous, and is yet renowned by them…" *State Papers, Relating to Ireland: 1615-1625,* 237/12/997.

[60] Since there were no prisons nor was there a death penalty under Brehon law, punishment was usually by compensation. The "honor price" was a value put on every individual. When one committed a crime against someone else, that person was paid according to his or her honor price. The value of a person depended on the status of that person within the group, with the

with men. According to Brehon law, Irish women had the right to an education, though the mass of the Irish – men and women – were not educated. Women could pursue professions such as druid, poet, physician, and Brehon as well.[61] Unlike under English common law where a wife's legal status was that of a *feme covert* in which her legal body was subsumed under her husband's identity, an Irish woman retained a separate legal identity, even after marriage, allowing for retention of property as solely hers. Historically, Irish women even took up arms to fight alongside husbands or brothers, though by the sixteenth century this was not common practice.[62]

Furthermore, the myths of the ancient Celts suggest that Gaelic women may have played a dominant social role in pre-Christian Ireland.[63] These myths as well as Brehon law provided Irish women with a foundation – whether legal or mythical – on which to base their political involvement. In contrast, English women, such as the Tudor princesses, had to carve out a niche for themselves from scratch when they attempted to participate in the political sphere. Women such as these wanted not so much the physical acquisition of a male body, as rather a male's social identity.[64] Gráinne demonstrated this with her ability to play the part of a "man's

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poet (*filí)* having the highest honor price. A child's honor price was lower than an adult's honor price. The paying of the honor price would be the responsibility of the family, including future generations. [Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*.]

[61] The term "brehon" referred to both the system of law in Ireland as well as those jurists or judges who practiced it.

[62] However, under *Cáin Adomnáin* or the Law of Adomnán (697), women were exempted from warfare. St. Adomnán's mother was horrified by the barbarity she witnessed between two women on the battlefield and requested her son to support this exemption. [Adomnán of Iona, *Adomnán's Law of the Innocents - Cáin Adomnáin: A Seventh-Century Law for the Protection of Non-Combatants*, Gilbert Márkus (trans.) (Kilmartin, Argyll: Kilmartin House Museum, 2008); Julianna Grigg, "Aspects of the Cáin: Adomnán's Lex Innocentium," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association*, Vol.1 (2005): 41-50.]

[63] See Condren, *The Serpent and the Goddess*.

[64] Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness* (London: Pandora Press, 1989), 13.

woman," unaffected by female reticence or false modesty when with her men, while at the same time presenting to the English a most feminine woman. Her actions speak to her astute understanding of gendered politics, as she gained power over her clan without harnessing feminine tropes while matching English expectations of propriety and legitimacy.

Yet early modern female leaders continued to be viewed as unique, imbued with fantastical qualities that caused their radical potential to be undercut. As Shakespeare's plays suggest, male Elizabethan commentators perpetuated women's role as subservient to men. Women who succeeded in assuming leadership roles tended to do so within the orbit of their husband's (or lover's) power struggles. Eleanor Butler, the Countess of Desmond, demonstrates this assumption of power through marital relations. As the wife, consort, and protector of the ill-fated last Earl of Desmond, virtual "king" of one third of Ireland in the sixteenth century, her life was a struggle against inexorable fate. A woman of courage and indomitable will, with an almost superhuman capacity to withstand suffering, loss and deprivation, Eleanor was relentless in pursuing her family's interests. As the wife of the rebel sixteenth Earl of Desmond, she became an obsessive myth to the armies of Elizabeth I of England, who pursued her among the mountains and valleys of Munster – "the object of their hatred and lust; the she-devil… What self-respecting woman - and a countess to boot - would willingly live like a wild animal in the woods and bogs?"[65] And while Eleanor's life seemed doomed, her home destroyed, her vast Desmond inheritance confiscated, her children imprisoned, her husband beheaded, the rejection

[65] Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society Studies in History, 1977), 133-134.

of defeat by this "frisky old girl" would inspire future Irish men and women to resist colonial subjugation.[66]

Recent scholarship on early modern England and Europe has studied the phenomenon of aristocratic women who were able to steer a political path for themselves, though some of their male contemporaries argued that "an unquiet woman" was the "misery of man."[67] While this may have been how many English men felt, they did not necessarily see female political activity as threatening the male monopoly of the political realm. Often English women's actions – as well as their Irish counterparts – benefited their families as a whole, not simply their own, feminine interests. By advancing and supporting their family, rather than simply themselves, women's participation in politics was even deemed an affirmation of the patriarchal foundations of society and politics. Political power and social maneuvering was the basis of marriage. "The family and the state were inextricably intertwined in the minds of [sixteenth-century] English women and men," as one scholar has put it, so that as a consequence, "we cannot understand politics (as conventionally defined) without understanding the politics of the family."[68] By supporting – or at least not resisting – the decisions of their fathers and husbands, women upheld the patriarchal system at the same time as they were being limited by it.[69]

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[66] A. B. Rowan, *The Olde Countesse of Desmonde: Her Identitie; Her Portraiture; Her Descente* (Dublin: University Press, 1860), 21.

[67] Nicholas Breton, *The Good and the Badde* (London, 1615), 227, cited in N.H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth Century Woman* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 80.

[68] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 2.

[69] For further discussion of this topic, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 196; Diane Willen, "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*, Sherrin Marshall (ed.) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1898).

Gráinne's political activity would have been acceptable within the world of Gaelic politics as it was as an extension of female familial duties, though it was not significant enough to be recorded in the Irish chronicles. As a modern scholar has commented,

> The wife of the chieftain is sometimes found actively engaged in negotiations for the release of hostages, and even sitting in council with her husband's leading vassals to decide on questions of war and peace or to determine succession to leading vassals to decide on questions of war and peace or to determine succession to the throne...[70]

Political involvement might have allowed a woman to "make nonsense of the legal fiction that she was perpetually under the guardianship of her husband, or indeed the popular fiction that women were more gentle and peace loving than men."[71] Nevertheless, while Irish men often accepted the political activities of their female relatives, English leaders in Ireland felt disturbed and threatened by Irish women.

Not only did the English associate Gráinne with every rebellion that occurred during the sixteenth century, but also several stories circulated in the sixteenth century that accused her of unwomanly deeds. The most popular of those accusations that can be found in literature purported that she had had a child out of wedlock – a charge that the English viewed as serious, since adultery was viewed as worse than domestic violence because it challenged the link between marriage and procreation.[72] This same accusation was also made of Elizabeth I, as there

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[70] Katharine Simms, "Women in Norman Ireland," in *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension*, Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha O Corrain (eds.) (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 14-25, 18.

[71] Ibid., 22.

[72] These stories seem to revolve around the oral tradition still heard in County Mayo that Gráinne, under Brehon law, divorced her second husband after a short marriage, yet bore his son in 1567 after this supposed divorce. For further discussion of the relationship between marriage, procreation, adultery and domestic violence, see Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); David M.

were rumors that she had given birth to one or more illegitimate children, though there is little hard evidence to support this allegation.[73] However, Elizabeth made a deliberate decision to remain unwed and argued that she would "have no children; for every one of you, and as many are English, are my Children."[74] The English Queen's virginity would thus remain "pure until her Death."[75] While claiming virginity, Elizabeth also professed her "marriage with her kingdome," in which she adeptly manipulated gendered political language and imagery.[76] While kings reigned as "fathers" to their people and as "husbands" of the country, Gráinne's authority challenged the structured hierarchy of a feminized colonized society by claiming masculine privileges.[77]

Why were Irish women in general and Gráinne in particular so prominent in the writings of the English, especially in light of the fact that there were other women involved in Welsh

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Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[73] For further discussion of Elizabeth I and the claim she had a child, see Diana Price, "Rough Winds Do Shake: A Fresh Look at the Tudor Rose Thoery," *The Elizabethan Review*, Vol. 4, no.2 (Autumn 1996): 4-23; Elisabeth Sears, *Shakespeare and the Tudor Rose* (Marshfield Hills, MA: Meadow Geese Press, 2002).

[74] William Camden, *Annales: The True and Royall History of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, etc. True Faith 's Defendresse of Divine Renowne and Happy Memory* (1625), book 1, translated from *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicaruni, regnante Elizabeth* (1615), 27-29.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., *The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England*, R. N[orton] (trans.) (London, 1630), 222. This edition contains the account of the last half of her reign in Book 4 of Camden's *Annales*, which had been published posthumously in 1627 as *Tomus Alter Annalium Rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum.*

[77] Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies,* 133-134.

rebellions and Scottish wars?[78] Irish women as dangerous adversaries became an obsessive myth, seen by the English soldier as being she-devils, treacherous, and licentious.[79] For more than two decades after Gráinne's death, the English state papers continued to mention her. In March 1627, for example, the Lord Deputy of Ireland wrote to the Privy Council that

> the inhabitants [of the county of Mayo] whereof have been always more apt to rebellion … insomuch that the very women have borne arms there, whereof one Grany ne Maly was famous, and is yet renowned by them.[80]

This reference demonstrates how Gráinne provoked awe, anger, revulsion, admiration, and fear in the late sixteenth-century and even seventeenth-century English administrators and military men who increasingly dominated the land. Earlier in 1578, Sir Walter Francis Walsingham described "Granny Nye Male [as] one of power and force" in a letter to the English Court, to which he received a reply, which named her one of the "notorious offenders of the countrie."[81]

To explore the reasons why Gráinne was of such interest to the English, it is necessary to return to the issue of her background. Gráinne Ní Mháille was the only daughter of a powerful chieftain and wife to two other chieftains. Having secured the right to learn and to exploit her clan's seafaring ways, Gráinne entered into the complex political arena when, at the age of fifteen, she married Dónal-an-Coghaid (Dónal of the Battles) O'Flaherty, taniste of the O'Flaherty clan. This political alliance between two great Irish families in 1546 proved to be the launching point for Gráinne as a leader of men since Dónal revealed himself to be an irresponsible leader, more interested in fighting on land than preventing his people from

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[78] See Geoffrey Hodge, *Owain Glyn Dwr: The War of Independence in the Welsh Borders* (Herefordshire: Logaston Press, 1995); Antonia Fraser, *Mary, Queen of Scots* (London; Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).

[79] Richard Berleth, *The Twilight Lords: An Irish Chronicle* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 192.

[80] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland (James I)*, 237/12/997.

[81] *State Papers of Ireland*, 63/16/56.

starving.[82] Gráinne stepped in and was accepted essentially as the clan's chief, even though women could not be formally elected to the position. The men that followed her accepted her as their legitimate protector, although tradition and history had previously left this duty only in the hands of male leaders. Not only did she become better known in matters concerning tribal disputes, politics, and pirating than her first husband, but also the English several times referred to her second husband simply as "the husband of Grany O'Maile."[83]

By 1566, Clare Island and the surrounding waters of Clew Bay were entirely in Gráinne's control with the exception of Carraigahowley Castle (Rockfleet Castle).[84] The now widowed Gráinne arranged to marry its owner, Risdeárd an Iarainn Bourke.[85] Tradition holds that as the end of her first year of marriage to Bourke approached, she barred the door to Carraigahowley Castle and cried to him, "I dismiss you." This action was based on Brehon law where either party was allowed to terminate the marriage after a year and a day. Trial marriages were popular among the Gaelic Irish and Hiberno-Norman aristocracy as Brehon law allowed for divorce by both men and women:

> In no field of life was Ireland's apartness from the mainstream of European society so marked as in that of marriage… Down to the end of the old order in 1603, what could be called Celtic secular marriage remained the norm in Ireland… Christian matrimony was no more than the rare exception, grafted on this system.[86]

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[82] Sir Henry Sidney, upon meeting Gráinne and her second husband in 1576, observed that "she was… well more than Mrs. Mate with him." (Lambeth Palace Library, MS No. 601/111.) Tradition holds that Dónal was a strong believer in his clan's motto – *Fortuna Favet Fortibus* (Fortune favors the bold) – and earned his sobriquet Dónal of the Battles due to his constant warfare with his neighbors, especially the Joyces. (Chambers, 42.)

[83] *Calendar of State Papers (James I),* 1623, no. 997.

[84] As the largest of the islands off the coast of County Mayo, Clare Island sits at the entrance of Clew Bay.

[85] Risdeárd an Iarainn Bourke was the nephew of Gráinne's first husband.

[86] Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 73.

However, historical evidence demonstrates this powerful couple remained together – whether legally or not – for the next seventeen years with Bourke eventually becoming the MacWilliam as well as being knighted in 1581.[87] Thus this second marriage brought her total control of Clew Bay and the advantages to her maritime career that control entailed. Gráinne was adept at using the knowledge of politics that she gained through these networks to create a profitable situation for herself and her clan. As one seventeenth-century Irish ballad recalls, "she seemed well used to power, as one that hath Dominion over men of savage mood."[88]

Unlike most of the coastal clans of Ireland, the O'Malleys were deep-sea sailors. *Annala Rioghachta Eireann* recorded various travels by the O'Malley clan.[89] As a verse of one fifteenth-century poem reported, "A mile by sea is short to the O'Malleys."[90] Gráinne continued this family tradition for more than half a century, as she traded and pirated successfully from Ireland to Scotland and perhaps as far afield as Spain – making no distinction as to nationality when plundering ships. Just as Galway imposed taxes on the clans that traded within the city's walls, Gráinne and her men did the same to those who sailed the waters off their territory. Using both their knowledge of the poorly charted coastline as well as the speed of her galleys, Gráinne

[87] The MacWilliam was the head of the Bourke clan and overlord to the O'Malley chieftains. See James MacParlan, *Statistical Survey of Co. Mayo* (Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1802), 136, 138; John O'Donovan and Thomas O'Conor (eds.), *Ordnance Survey of Ireland: Letters*, Mayo, Vol. 1 (1838), 165; *Biological Survey of Clare Island in the County of Mayo, Ireland and of the Adjoining District* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 1915), vol. II, 18; and Caesar Otway, *Tour in Connaught*, 287-294.

[88] Cited in J. O'Hart (ed.), *Irish Pedigree,* Vol. II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 1876), 675.

[89] O'Clery et al., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann,* Vol. II, 1019; Ibid., Vol. IV, 815.

[90] "A Poem to Tuatbal ó Màille," *Revue Celtique,* Vol. XLIX (1932), 172.

was able to exact a toll on trading ships. Unable to defend themselves against her crews, Galway city complained to the English Council in Dublin about:

> The continuing roads used by the O'Malleys and O'Flaherties with their galleys along our coasts, where there have been taken sundry ships and barks bound for this poor town, which they have not only rifled to the utter overthrow of the owners and merchants, but also have most wickedly murdered divers of young men to the great terror of such as would willingly traffic…[91]

In order to maintain her leadership, Gráinne had not only to lead by example, but to outdo the men she led as well. As a traditional poem described her,

> No braver seaman
> Took the deck
> In hurricane or squalls
> Since Grace O'Malley battered down
> Old Currath Castle's walls.[92]

Gráinne's association with Howth Castle in County Dublin perhaps best exemplifies her boldness and audacity. Based on the Gaelic custom of hospitality, Gráinne sought shelter at the Castle of St. Lawrence, the official residence of the Earl of Howth.[93] However, as the principal port for Dublin, Howth was well within the Pale and did not honor Gaelic traditions. When informed that the Lord of Howth was at dinner and could not be disturbed, an infuriated Gráinne, tradition says, headed towards her ship where she ran into Lord of Howth's grandson on the

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[91] *Calendar of State Papers – Elizabeth I*, Vol. CCVII, 5.

[92] University College Dublin, Department of Celtic Studies, Schools' Manuscript Collection, MS. No. 532: *Carna & Ballinasloe, Co. Galway / Bailiúchán na Scol - Carna agus Bhéal Átha na Sluaighe, Co. na Gaillimhe,* (1937). In 1937, the Irish Folklore Commission created what it now known as the Schools' Manuscript Collection, by having schoolchildren collected and documented folklore and local history.

[93] Hospitality was an important Irish custom in which there was an intense social obligation among all homeowners to provide hospitality for anyone who might need it. For more information, see Peter Berresford Ellis, *A Brief History of the Celts* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 1998); Myles Dillon and Nora Chadwick, *The Celtic Realms: The History and Culture of the Celtic Peoples from Pre-History to The Norman Invasion* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000); Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*.

beach. Kidnapping the young man and taking him back to her territory in County Mayo, Gráinne refused his grandfather's offer of ransom. Rather than accepting his offer of gold and silver, she extorted a promise that the gates of Howth Castle would never again be closed and that there would always be an extra place set at his table for anyone seeking hospitality. "Lord Howth gave a ring to Grace O'Malley as a pledge on the agreemen," and that pledge holds true to modern times.[94]

Typically, when it came to affairs of the sea, a woman's place was understood to be safe at home, yet Gráinne broke with this tradition. The stories surrounding the birth of her youngest son demonstrate not only her capability as a leader of men, but also at the same time her femininity. According to tradition, the day after Gráinne gave birth to her son while at sea, Barbary pirates attacked her ship. Her men begged her to lead them, to which she is said to have replied - "may you be seven times worse off this day twelve months, who cannot do without me for one day."[95] However, joining her men, she urged them to action by shooting a musket at the pirates and crying, "Take this from unconsecrated hands."[96] Records of sixteenth-century Barbary pirate attacks in Ireland lend credence to this story.[97] The young child born supposedly during this voyage – Tibbot-ne-Long (Toby of the Long Ships) – would be called by the sixteenth-century poet Eochaidh Ó hÉoghusa the "Emulator of the African Lion" as a reference

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[94] *State Papers of Ireland*, 63/170/19.The ring "was preserved in the O'Malley family until in 1795, when an Elizabeth O'Malley married John Irwin of Camlin, county Roscommon, when the ring moved to the Irwin family. An Irwin son immigrated to America taking the ring with him. He was a solicitor and married and later his grandson, John Vesberg, a New York solicitor, had it mounted into a brooch" (Chambers, 56-58).

[95] Robert Lloyd Praeger, *The Way That I Went* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Company, 1937), 184.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Des Ekin, *The Stolen Village: Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates* (Dublin: O'Brien Press Ltd, 2006).

to this tradition.[98] Furthermore, Thomas de Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana, Sive Historia Provinciae Hiberniae Ordinims Praedicatorum* supports this account:

> …bellatorem stenuum et invictum, qui (sc Richardus) ex Grania (aliis Grisella) O'Maly, Dynastae O'Flaherti Vidua, genuit Equitem Theobaldum ny Lung id est, de Navibus quia Mari in Navium Classe natum.
>
> … the mighty and invincible warrior that is Richard had by the widow Grania [alias Grisella] O'Maly of the O'Flaherty family, the knight Theobald ny Lung, that is of the ships, because he was born in a fleet of ships at sea.[99]

Seen as a fearless leader who was willing to fight beside her followers, did she appear to her contemporaries as any less "womanly" for having appropriated masculine behavior? While Sir Nicholas Malby commented that she "thinketh herself to be no small lady," he did not mistake her for a man.[100] Adhering to the patriarchal domestic ideal of womanhood, Gráinne bore three sons – Murrough ne Maor O'Flaherty, Owen O'Flaherty, and Tibbot-ne-Long – as well as a daughter Margaret.[101] In seizing the opportunity to become a leader of men, Gráinne gained independence from – while competing with – her male counterparts. Paradoxically, while rebelling against traditional notions of femininity, Gráinne negotiated a distinctive sense of femininity by being both a mother and a wife. Following the dictates of medieval and early modern society in which marriage was about more than a union between two consenting individuals, Gráinne's own marriages were politically and economically advantageous to both her and her clan. Furthermore, in order to further cement a Gaelic alliance, she would marry her

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[98] Gaisford St. Lawrence Papers, as cited in Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: Ireland's Pirate Queen* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 2003), 69.

[99] Thomas de Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana, Sive Historia Provinciae Hiberniae Ordinims Praedicatorum* (Kilkenny: Edmund Finn, 1762), 319.

[100] *Calendar State Papers (Elizabeth I),* Vol. CLXX, 132.

[101] For a discussion of the idea of womanhood, see Yael Manes, *Motherhood and Patriarchal Masculinities in Sixteenth Century Italian Comedy* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011), 65-90.

daughter off to Richard Bourke, known as the Devil's Hook.[102] This Irish "Pirate Queen" was not so much attempting to break with gender stereotypes, as surviving in a changing world.

Gráinne Ní Mháille led rebellions in the field against individual English administrators when they tried to curb her activities, yet allied with the Queen of England when it was to her political advantage.[103] While Gráinne attacked her son when he dared to side with her English enemy Sir Richard Bingham, she trained another son so well in the art of survival that he fought with the English at the battle of Kinsale (1601), the last stand of the Gaelic world that bred and bore her.[104] Gráinne did not flinch from the cost of her actions. Her fight was not against the English or for the Irish, but was a way to preserve and advance her family's interests. Survival was the key to her strategy and Gráinne realized that she and her clan had to adapt or pay the price of inflexibility. She consciously sought to survive by her own rules.

One individual who was threatened by the actions of this Irish woman was Sir Richard Bingham, who would become the Governor of Connaught in 1584. He wanted to break down the entire Gaelic culture and replace it with English ways – by any means necessary. Bingham "proceede[d] against offenders without observing the usuall ceremonies of law."[105] In his

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[102] Richard Bourke was a near neighbor of the O'Malleys who lived on Clare Island. The English him called by the name of "the Devil's Hook" in an attempt at translating his Irish sobriquet of "the Demon of the Hook," or Promontory of Corraun. John Gabriel Row, *The Romance of Irish History* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1915), 100.

[103] An example of this is in 1595, when in order to counter the political maneuverings of the English governor of Connaught Sir Richard Bingham, Gráinne offered Elizabeth I "to serve with a hundred men at her owne charges at seas upon the coaste of Ireland in her Majesties warres upon all occasions from Easter to Michelmas…" [*State Papers – Ireland,* 63/179/36.]

[104] In the battle of Kinsale (1601), Tibbot-ne-Long fought alongside Lord Mountjoy and helped to defeat the combined Gaelic forces of Red Hugh O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill. In January 1603, Tibbot-ne-Long would be knighted for his "loyal and valorous" service and thereafter known as Sir Theobald Burke. [Westport House Manuscript Collection – National Library of Ireland, MS No. 5717.]

[105] Sidney, *Sidney Letters and Memorials of State,* 358.

opinion, "The Irish were never tamed with words but with swords."[106] Lord Deputy of Ireland Sir Henry Sidney justified Bingham's actions by referencing Roman precedent and saluted the governor for "his singular art and skill in military discipline as another Cesar [sic] suppressed at the last Veringetorix [sic] and the reveling Gaules."[107] While Bingham was criticized as a petty tyrant, English traveler Fynes Moryson asserted that

> Those who best understood the Irish nature found nothing so necessairie for keeping them in obedience as severities, no [sic] so dangerous for the increase of murthers and outrages as indulgence towards them.[108]

Bingham would seek to subdue Connaught and its people including Gráinne and her followers.

Bingham agreed with a previous assessment of Gráinne by Lord Justice Drury, the English President of Munster, in that she was "a woman that hath impudently passed the part of womanhood and been a great spoiler and chief commander and director of thieves and murderers at sea."[109] Thus for him and for others, this Irish woman would become the epitome of Irish militant resistance; she was, in his eyes, the "nurse to all rebellions in the province for this forty years."[110] A reference to her "mutinous mutterings" reflected the anxiety that the English felt about Ireland and her people.[111]

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[106] *Calendar of State Papers (Elizabeth I)*, Vol. CLXX, 128.

[107] Sidney, *Sidney Letters and Memorials of State*, 358.

[108] Moryson was a Cambridge graduate whose travel journal provides a valuable insight into the Europe of his day. *Fynes Moryson's Itinerary; or Ten Years' Travels through Great Britain and other parts of Europe* (London, 1617), 17.

[109] *State Papers of Ireland*, 63/19/56.

[110] Lambeth Palace Library, Manuscript No. 601, 111.

[111] Willy Maley (ed.), *The Supplication of the Blood of the English Most Lamentably Murdered in Ireland, Cryeing Out Of the Yearth for Revenge* (1598) in *Analecta Hibernica* 36 (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1994), 80.

While Gráinne attempted to navigate the changing cultural and political world of sixteenth-century Ireland, English contemporaries sought to control it in part though the mapping of the island. The classification, mapping, and regulating of Ireland on paper was a visualization of the Tudor desire to dominate Ireland. By transforming the geographical space of Ireland into a sense of place, the English wanted to produce – rather than reproduce – reality. While it has been argued that maps are "impersonal type of knowledge [that] tend[s] to 'desocialize' the territory they represent … [by] foster[ing] the notion of a socially empty space," Elizabethan cartography recognized that Ireland was not devoid of people.[112] Rather, maps from this period emphasized territorial divisions and dominant families. Scholar John H. Andrews noted that this practice was not typical in cartography as it was "puzzling to non-Irish copyists of Irish maps, who would sometimes invent the towns they thought must have been denoted by such names as 'O'Neill' and 'Magennis.'"[113] While John Goghe's map *Hibernia: Insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirlandia vocata* (1567) was sparse on details overall, it did emphasize not only important physical features, but also the names of influential families.[114]

While colonial cartography influenced Ireland's nascent cultural sense of nation, it can be argued that at times, it also revealed resistance to metropolitan marginalization. Maps challenge a viewer's thoughts about his or her positions, identities, and reality. Italian draftsman and cartographer Baptista Boazio presented the English ruler Elizabeth I with a map of Ireland in

[112] J. Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Consgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-313: 303.

[113] John H. Andrews, "Colonial Cartography in a European Setting," 1673.

[114] John Goghe, *Hibernia: Insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirlandia vocata*, 1567 (The National Archives, MPF 1/68).

1599 that named the various Irish chieftains and their territories.[115] [Figure 4] As the earliest map specifically of Ireland to come off an English press, it was drawn counter-intuitively.[116] The orientation of the map is such that western Ireland is shown at the top of the map – theoretically on top of England, which is not shown on this folio. By changing the map orientation of Ireland from the more traditional view of north pointing to the top to north pointing right, the creation of a subtle disruption in the perceived hierarchy of colonizer and colonized occurred. This shift grants the province of Connaught the place of visual honor. Centered at the top of the map is a frame containing the title of the map and its creator's name. The embellishment of this box serves as an arrow pointing to a territory directly below it – the only region where the local leader's name is not male. The name "Grany O Male" that appears on this map and the later 1606 edition makes this the only map produced in early modern England in which another woman's name beside that of Elizabeth I is displayed. Unlike more traditional maps that maintained gender, race, and social hierarchical norms, Boazio instead places Gráinne's name and territory in a prominent position balanced above others. This map concedes that Gráinne had earned the right to be numbered as one of the leaders of sixteenth-century Ireland, as valid a chieftain as any of her male peers.

Gráinne Ní Mháille's place of prominence on Baptista Boazio's map of Ireland could be attributed to the question of which side she and her clan were on when it came to English-Irish

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[115] Boazio spent many years working in England and is particularly noted for his map of Ireland, which was widely copied and was used in later editions of Ortelius' famous *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. John H. Andrews, "Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland," *Long Room*, Vol. 1 (1970): 29-36.

[116] Published by London bookseller John Sudbury and engraved by Renold Elstrack, it is considered both bibliographically as well as cartographically important and is seen as the nearest Irish equivalent to the maps of English cartographer Christopher Saxton. For more discussion on the dating and history of this map, see John H. Andrews, "Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland," 29-36.

Figure 4 – Map of Ireland by Baptista Boazio (1599)

disputes. Having warred with native Irish clans such as the O'Donnells, Gráinne's son and successor, Tibbot-ne-Long (Toby of the Long Ships), recognized his worth to the English. On April 25, 1597, he presented a set of fourteen demands to the Privy Council in exchange for his continuing loyalty. These claims would be granted, including both the MacWilliamship, a traditional Hiberno-Norman grant that included extensive lands, as well as pardons for many of Tibbot's family members.[117] It can be surmised that Gráinne approved of her son's arrangements with the English authorities as she, along with her son and his brother, had been given "money and other necessaries [and] £200" for their services by sea in August of that same year by Sir Conyers Clifford, the new English governor of Connaught.[118] Perhaps by placing her name prominently at the top of the map, Boazio was attempting to indicate this change in allegiance.

Cartography exposes and exploits the land and its inhabitants and thus maps are "not merely pictures of the world, but depictions of a world that can be shaped, manipulated, acted upon."[119] Acting as symbols of power, maps can be a political weapon of an invading force.

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[117] Mayo was formed part of the grant made by King Henry II to William de Burgo, one of the first Anglo-Norman invaders. When a descendant in the elder line of de Burgo was assassinated in 1333, his only daughter was taken to England. Whereupon, two de Burgos (or Burkes as the family had become known by as they had intermarried with Gaelic clans) from the younger branch divided the young girl's inheritance and took on the name of MacWilliam, becoming lords of western Connaught. Edmund de Burgo, who had appropriated County Mayo, became known as MacWilliam Eighter, while the usurper of County Galway was distinguished as MacWilliam Oughter. Their descendants maintained the MacWilliamship for almost two years, with various fortunes. Tibbot-ne-Long would not be granted the title though until 1627, when he was created the first Viscount Mayo by Charles I. (Anne Chambers, *Shadow Lord: Theobald Bourke, Tibbott-Ne-Long, 1567–1629: Son of the Pirate Queen Grace O'Malley* (Dublin: Ashfield Press, 2007).

[118] O'Clery et al., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*, iv, 2013.

[119] Cited in John Pickles, "Representations in an Electronic Age: Geography, GIS, and Democracy," in John Pickles (ed.), *Ground Truth: The Social Implications of Geographic Information Systems* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), 1-30: 21.

Serving as the mapmaker-surveyor for Robert Deveraux, Earl of Essex, Boazio witnessed Essex's disastrous attempts at pacifying Ireland.[120] Appointed the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland following the Irish victory at the Battle of Yellow Ford in 1598, Essex triumphantly announced his determination to beat Irish rebels in the field. Not only would he fail to subdue the rebellion that swept the isle, Ireland would prove to be the catalyst in the break between Essex and his Queen. The resultant downfall of Essex would lead to his eventual conviction and execution for treason in 1601.[121] The map may potentially symbolize the changes in the relationship between Ireland and England that Boazio saw during his time with Essex. Since maps transmit understandings of power and authority, by depicting Ireland as he did, Boazio portrayed an independence that England would refuse to accept, but could not ever completely break.

As the sixteenth century came to end, a revolt led by the Ulster chieftains gained momentum. Cognizant that the Gaelic way of life was disappearing, the Irish rebels were said to:

> stand not as heretofore upon terms of oppression and country grievances, but pretend to recover their ancient land and territories out of the Englishmen's hands, and [strive] for the restoring of the Romish religion, and to cast off English laws and government, and to bring the realm to the tanist law, acknowledging Tyrone to be lieutenant to the Pope and King of Spain.[122]

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[120] Charles Robert Rivington, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 AD*, 5 Volumes, Edward Arber (ed.) (London, 1875), III, 77.

[121] See Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*; Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government, and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Neil Younger, "The Practice and Politics of Troop-Raising: Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex and the Elizabethan Regime," *English Historical Review*, Vol. 127, no. 526 (June 2012): 566-591.

[122] Queen's Irish Council (1597), as cited in G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *Irish Battles: A Military History of Ireland* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 146.

The Ulstermen fought a defensive war until the arrival of the Spanish in 1601, when the old Tudor fear of Elizabeth's enemies using Ireland to injure England became a reality. The goal of these Irishmen was to avoid defeat and prolong the war long enough in the hopes they would still be in the field when Elizabeth I died so that better terms might be reached with her successor.[123] Arguably, this rebellion made Ireland even more the focal point of England's security, shifting this island from the periphery of England's view to center stage. Boazio's map illustrates the shift in perception that the English Crown felt in regards to Ireland. This neighboring island that was once on the periphery of both England and Europe's horizon had become crucial as concerns about stability and security came to the forefront of English politics in the sixteenth century.

With Boazio's elaborate detailing on the map as well as some of the disputable topographical details, the issue arises of to what degree the cartographer may indeed have had other objectives besides that of presenting unadorned geographical information.[124] Cartographer and historian John H. Andrews suggested that the map was "not a good one, even by contemporary standards: obsolete before it was published . . . its geographical content is badly garbled and in places totally fictitious."[125] However, this viewpoint – however factually accurate – implies that maps were and always have been created purely for accuracy.[126] Rather, this late

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[123] Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (New York: Longman, 1998), 334-351.

[124] Both Boazio, the cartographer, and Elstrack, his engraver, are doubly present on the map. While there are two cartouches bearing their names, which signal directly their claim to authorship, a more imaginative but deeply colonial gesture transforms them into the toponyms *Baptiste's Rock* (off the Antrim Coast) and *Elstrake's Isle* (south-west of Tyrconnell).

[125] Andrews, "Baptista Boazio's Map of Ireland," 29.

[126] For further discussion on the social construction of maps, see J. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Consgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-313; "Decolonizing the Map: Postcolonialism, Poststructuralism, and the Cartographic Connection," in Graham Huggan, *Interdisciplinary Measures: Literature and the Future of Postcolonial Studies* (Liverpool:

sixteenth-century map illustrates how English viewers such as Sir Robert Sidney and Queen Elizabeth made spatial sense of Ireland and her inhabitants.[127]

As tensions between England and Ireland escalated in the latter part of the sixteenth century, creating hardship for her and her clan, Gráinne realized that she needed to deal with a higher authority than Bingham, namely Queen Elizabeth I herself. Beginning in 1593, she wrote a series of letters to the Queen that reflected her political shrewdness.[128] Stating in one of these that due to

> … the continual discord stirs and dissention that heretofore long tyme remained among the Irishrye especialy in west Conaght by the seaside everie cheeftaine for his safeguard and maintenance and for the defence of his people, followers, and countre took armes by strong hand to make head against his neybours which in like manner constryned your highness fond subject to take armes and by force to maintaine herself and her people by sea and land for the space of fortye years past….[129]

Liverpool University Press, 2008); Roger M. Downs and David Stea (eds.), *Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behavior* (Chicago: Aldine, 1973); Robert McNee, "Perspective: Use It or Lose It," *Professional Geographer*, Vol. 33 (February 1981): 12-15; Rolland G. Paulston and Martin Liebman, "An Invitation to Postmodern Social Cartography," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 38, no. 2 (May 1994): 215-232; Denis Cosgrove, "Cultural Cartography: Maps and Mapping in Cultural Geography / Les Cartes et La Cartographie en Géographie Culturelle," *Annales de Géographie*, Vol. 117, no. 660/661 (Mar.-Jun. 2008): 159-178.

[127] Elizabethan official Rowland Whyte mailed three letters to Sir Robert Sidney, who was in Holland, regarding obtaining a copy of Boazio's map. On September 8, 1599, White was able to tell Sidney he was forwarding it. [Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurt Place*, Vol. II (London: Historic Manuscripts Collection, 1934), 385, 387, 389.

[128] Gráinne wrote a series of petitions to the Queen, including one that was endorsed by Black Tom, the powerful Lord of Ormond and a favorite of Elizabeth I. Contained within the *Calendar of State Papers – Ireland*, petitions include "Petition to Queen Elizabeth I" (July 1593), *The Eighteen Articles of Interrogatory* – Questions by Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer of England, with answers by Gráinne (July 1593); Petition of Grany ny Mally to the Lord Treasurer (5 May 1595).

[129] *State Papers - Ireland* 63/170/204.

While Gráinne's actions were familiar to the English Queen, this "Pirate Queen of Connacht" slanted the answers in her letters so that her activities appeared in a more favorable light.

In order to provide legitimacy to her claims, Gráinne explained her own familial background in her petition to Queen Elizabeth I in July 1593.[130] Gráinne even questioned the lack of provisioning made for widows under the crown-imposed Composition of Connaught (1585), which had expanded English administration and ushered in a new period of settlement and consolidation that was meant to remove the remaining vestiges of Gaelic authority.[131] While arguing that English law had not improved the lot of Irishmen, Gráinne requested that the Queen

> …grant unto your said subject under our most gracious hand of signet free libertye during her lyve to envade with sword and fire all your highness enemies wheresoever thay or shall be…without any interruption of any person or persons whatsoever.[132]

Believing that a plea in person was stronger, Gráinne went to Greenwich to meet the Queen.[133]

According to folklore, when Gráinne sneezed while in the presence of Elizabeth I, she was given a lace handkerchief, which she used to blow her nose and then she tossed it into the fire. When chastised for throwing away a gift, Gráinne responded that the Irish must have a higher standard of cleanliness as they would not soil their clothes with a dirty garment. Rather than being angered, Elizabeth is said to have surprised her courtiers by laughing.[134] Legends go

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[130] Gráinne will give an even more detailed familial background in her later response to the *Eighteen Articles of Interrogatory* (*State Papers – Ireland*, 63/170/204).

[131] As part of the larger effort to govern Ireland, the Composition of Connaught abolished Brehon law in Connaught and replaced it with English common law.

[132] *Calendar of State Papers – Ireland*, 63/170/204.

[133] Correspondence of Gráinne, Lord Burghley, Sir Richard Bingham, Tibbot-ne-Long, the Earl of Ormond and Elizabeth I show that Gráinne was at the English court from June until September 1593. *Calendar of State Papers – Ireland*, 63/172/341.

[134] University College Dublin – Department of Celtic Studies, MS. No. 4: *Mo Cheanntair Féin My Home District essays by Máire Ní Fhlaitheartaigh, collected from Pádraig Ó Flatharta,*

on to say that during this meeting, Elizabeth offered the title of countess to Gráinne, who declined as a title could not be bestowed on one of equal status.[135] Furthermore, legend contends that when Elizabeth bemoaned about the cares of royalty, Gráinne responded, "that the poor women of Mayo had greater cares and greater industry to their credit."[136]

Unfortunately, what actually occurred and was said at this conference of the English Queen and the Irish "Pirate Queen" was not officially recorded. However, it is certain that between June and September of 1593, Gráinne was at Elizabeth's court. Sir Richard Bingham even indicates that she "carryed over into England" the son of Ulick Bourke of Erris and her grand nephew, the son of Tibbot Reagh Bourke, "attended uppon Grany O'Maille at her late beying at Court."[137] Tradition holds that Gráinne sailed her own vessel to England. She seemed willing to use her age as a bargaining chip as indicated by Elizabeth's later counseling to Bingham "to have pity for the poor aged woman" – seemingly ignoring the fact that both she and Gráinne were similar ages.[138]

Gráinne did have some support at Elizabeth's court as demonstrated by Bingham complaining that "having bin advertised from thense that some in Court hath commended her for doing her Matie good service."[139] Referred as her "best frende since her cominge hither," William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was well aware of who Gráinne was when she arrived at Court.[140]

Fearann an Choirce, Cillrónáin, i.n. Árainn, Co. Galway; and by Caitilín Ní Chonghaile, collected from Seán Ó Conghaile, Mainistir, Cillrónáin, i.n. Árainn, Co. Galway (1938).

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/171/37; *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/171/341.

[138] Lacey Baldwin Smith, *The Elizabethan Epic* (New York: HarperCollins, 1969), 71.

[139] Smith, *The Elizabethan Epic*, 74.

[140] *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/171/44.

Having read dispatches from English bureaucrats such as Sir Henry Sidney and Bingham for more than twenty years, he wished to know more and sent Gráinne the *Articles of Interrogatory,* a list of eighteen questions to be answered by her.[141] Downplaying her obvious conflicts with the English, Gráinne's response to the eighteen questions highlighted both her political and military strengths. Included in her answers was not only her information about her family and life, but also about her personal observations of life in Connaught. She focused on her turbulent relationship with Bingham, including the events that led to his arrest of her, and her narrow escape from hanging. Neglecting to mention her participation in any of the Bourke rebellions or involvement in piracy, Gráinne maintained that she was simply was attempt to "pay Her Majesty's composition rent" while facing a Governor of Connaught out to "hang them by justice."[142]

Outraged that the Queen and her Council would consider reinstating Gráinne to her "trade of maintenance by land and sea," Sir Richard Bingham sent over his own recommendation that rather than reinstating her, he would recommend that:

> …how great soever any may make her wich knoweth her not, I will never aske but a boat of xxx tones to beat her… and with gods assistance dryve her and all her fleet into the sea.[143]

Notwithstanding this, Gráinne achieved her goal by the end of September of 1593. Elizabeth ordered Bingham to release Gráinne's son Tibbot-ne-Long as well as her brother Dónal-ne-Piopa (Dónal of the Pipes) from prison. In addition, since Gráinne did not have "by the custom of the

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[141] *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/170/19; *The Eighteen Articles of Interrogatory* – Questions by Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer of England, with answers by Gráinne (July 1593) - *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/170/204.

[142] Ibid., *Calendar of State Papers – Elizabeth I,* Vol. CLXX, 132.

[143] *Cecil Papers,* No. 169/128, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; *State Papers – Ireland,* 63/171/62.

Irish any title to any livelihood or position or portion of her two husbands lands, now being a widow," the Queen ordered that provisions be made for Gráinne out of her sons' estates.[144] The amount was deducted, by the Queen's specific command, from their taxes. Furthermore, Elizabeth urged Bingham to "favor in all their good causes protect them to live in peace and to enjoy their livelihoods."[145] Thus, Gráinne returned to the sea, under the guise of fighting for the Queen. The Queen noted in her letter of September 6, 1593 to Bingham that Gráinne:

> departeth with great thankfulness and with many more earnest promises that she will, as long as she lives, continue a dutiful subject, yea and will employ all her power to offend and prosecute any offender against Us.[146]

However, Bingham felt that this woman, who was "notorious in all the coast of Ireland," had duped his Queen. While following the Crown's instructions, he forced Gráinne to have his soldiers accompany her on her sailing ventures.[147] Bingham's persistence forced Gráinne to flee to Munster and stay with Thomas, Earl of Ormond. From southeastern Ireland, Gráinne once again petitioned the Queen for help – "to serve with a hundred men at her owne charges at seas upon the coaste of Ireland in her Majesties warres upon all occasions from Easter to Michelmas."[148] While Elizabeth I did not take up this offer at the time, it would later be a means by which the Irish pirate queen's sons would gain leadership of the men led by their mother and

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[144] *Cecil Papers*, No. 169/128, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Sir Henry Sidney recounting his meeting with Gráinne in 1577 in Galway: "There came to mee also a most famous femynyne sea capten called Grany Imallye, and offred her service unto me, wheresoever I woulde command her, with three galleys and two hundred fightinge men, either in Ireland or Scotland, she brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land well more than Mrs Mate with him… This was a notorious woman in all the costes of Ireland…" Sidney, *Sidney Letters and Memorials of State*.

[148] *State Papers - Ireland*, 63/179/70.

be paid for by the Crown to do so.[149] This after effect of this meeting of two Queens thus advanced Gráinne's status as a political leader in Ireland.

Gráinne's life ends cloaked in uncertainty; the exact date of her death (like that of her birth) is not certain. From evidence in the English records, it is likely that Gráinne's death occurred at Carraigahowley Castle, sometime around 1603.[150] Her death coincided with the defeat of Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell, who were seen by their contemporaries as the last hopes of a Gaelic Ireland free from England.[151] Elizabeth I would die that same year as well, leaving England in the hands of a new monarch.

Challenging the roles that her own Gaelic society placed on women, as well as the roles expected of English women, Gráinne threatened the masculine concepts of colonialism that the English were constructing. Her actions reveal the porousness of the patriarchal system and the instability inherent within colonialism. Irish women, as we have seen, represented a sexual dichotomy that existed within colonized society – what has been termed "the fundamental conflict between the worlds of Venus and Mars."[152] Venus symbolizes the "feminine" qualities

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[149] *State Papers – Ireland*, 67/179/35.

[150] Gráinne was mentioned in the state papers in July 1601 in regards to a vessel that one of her galleys had plundered. It seems likely she was alive at this point, though not directly involved in the incident. While her exact date of death (like her birth) is unknown, the Westport House Manuscript Collection suggests 1603 as the likely date, with tradition holding she was buried in the ruins of the Cistercian abbey on Clare Island. (St. Brigid's Abbey, Clare Island, c. 12th century.)

[151] The battle of Kinsale ended Spanish assistance to the Irish. While many of the rebels would retain their lands and titles after the battle, their authority would be limited. By 1607, these limitations would lead to Hugh O'Neill and about 90 of his followings fleeing to mainland Europe in what became known as the "Flight of the Earls." This flight would end, especially in Ulster, the Gaelic aristocracy and allowed the Ulster plantations to take root.

[152] Anne Williams, "Review of Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850* and Ruth Salvaggio, *Enlightened Absence: Neoclassical Configurations of the Feminine*," *Eighteenth Century Studies,* Vol. 24, no. 3 (Spring 1991): 402-408, 403.

of love and courtship while Mars displays the "masculine" traits of courage and trial. Women who donned "manly" attire gained access to the "virtues" that were otherwise only available to men. Hence, what was "the status of sex difference, encoded behaviorally by gender, if a woman can do as a man and be mistaken for a man?"[153] While neither Elizabeth I nor Gráinne Ní Mháille were misidentified as men, their actions were deemed masculine, allowing their authority to be recognized within a patriarchal system. Anxiety – both within the realm of familial patriarchy and within imperial colonization – required the determination of whether the ultimate issue was maintenance of sexual difference or the maintaining of masculine dominance.

While the tendency in history has in the past been to chronicle the deeds of "man" rather than of "humankind," more than mere chauvinism has ensured Gráinne's almost utter dismissal from recorded history. By negotiating beyond the boundaries of her gender, her life would be relegated to myth. Contemporary chroniclers would ignore her in order to avoid acknowledging that a woman could usurp what by the start of the seventeenth century had become accepted as the exclusive domain of men. By neither wearing the green robe of patriotism nor being fervent in her religious beliefs, Gráinne committed the additional transgression of not fitting the mold determined and demanded by later generations of Irish historians. In not allowing religious, social, or political convention to deter her during her lifetime, Gráinne simply did not fit the required historical type and would be left out of the formal historical record of Ireland, though remembered in the popular imagination. Colonization forced the questioning of the cultural fiction of what made a woman and what made a man. While wrongly designated as the "nurse to all rebellions" by the English and relegated to the popular imagination by the Irish, Gráinne's life demonstrates more than simply the roles women were expected to play as opposed to the roles

[153] Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry*, 157-158.

they assumed – whether out of necessity or desire. How both the Irish and the English reacted to Gráinne in both the sixteenth century and future periods reveals the intersectionality of gender, race, and colonialism as both simultaneously subjective and structural. Their often contradictory and conflictual relationships influenced interactions, opportunities, consciousness, ideology, and the forms of resistance that characterized the encounters between the various Irish and English populations.

Gráinne's actions challenged feminine archetypes. While Elizabeth I constantly and carefully crafted her self-image, Gráinne's authority did not rest on imagery of virginity or motherhood, but rather on her skill and knowledge. From the perspective of many English administrators, Gráinne was proof that the Irish were wild and in desperate need of conquest and submission. However, her ability to transcend gender roles would in later centuries inspire rebellion and resistance to the passive acceptance of the female role thrust upon all Irishmen. Consequently, Gráinne Ní Mháille's life would be appropriated by both colonizers and colonized as they attempted to create their own national identities.

"And the song she sang with mournful tongue was, My poor old Granuaile."
Ballad of *Poor Old Granuaile*

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Chapter 4 The Once and Future Queen: The Imagining and Reimagining of Ireland

As power and authority in Ireland shifted from the Gaelic and Hiberno-Normans to the English by the end of the sixteenth century, the ensuing laws and culture took away, to a great extent, what voice and power the women of Ireland had. While most of the Irish population would submit to English legal authority, many of these same Irishmen retained both their land and their Catholic religious convictions, resulting in what historian Colm Lennon described as an "incomplete conquest."[1] This lack of total subjugation would result in the seventeenth-century's Cromwellian invasion of Ireland and the later Jacobite war. However, with the signing of the Treaty of Limerick in 1691 and the power of the Protestant Ascendancy, the conquest of Ireland by the English would finally be completed.[2] The Gaelic Irish and the majority of the Hiberno-Normans would lose power over both their landscape and control of their lives.

The native Irish clans in the seventeenth century experienced fundamental changes in their way of life. The Gaelic Irish language was slowly erased and exchanged for the language of the newcomers. These changes, combined with the reduction in landownership by the native population, created a series of shifting identities. While at times temporary alliances were created, these shifting identities within the populations of Ireland led to deep divisions that

[1] Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005).

[2] The Protestant Ascendancy was the political, economic, and social domination of Ireland by the minority Protestant land-owning population. It is most associated with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

would prevent a single clear Irish identity and a sense of Irish unity.[3] The shifts in political leadership that would take place during the next three centuries would include Ireland's transformation from its existence as a dependent kingdom within a multiple monarchy, to the uniting of its and other parliaments to create the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1801, to its eventually becoming an independent divided nation in the twentieth century. These alterations in both the political as well as the cultural framework of Ireland's existence would have deep ramifications for the entire Irish population's self-perception and self-expression.

The assertion – and eventual creation – of the Irish people as a nation would be expressed in various ways during the centuries following the Tudor era. However, Irish nationalism would lack a strong and united base of support until the era of Theobald Wolf Tone in the late eighteenth century and the rise of Daniel O'Connell in the first half of the nineteenth century. This lack of a strong nationalistic movement allowed a pragmatic figure such as Gráinne Ní Mháille, who had transcended the roles designated for her, to be mythicized and romanticized. While the myth and the historical record of Gráinne often differed, the imagining of this historic character allowed nationalistic Irishmen to explain their current situation and perhaps to envision a future that differed from their present, to provide "inspiration for aspiration."[4]

From the sixteenth century onwards, a wealth of songs, legends, and lore sprang up around the ghost of this "notorious woman."[5] Gráinne Ní Mháille lived through the folklore that still animated the landscape of Connaught and the rest of Ireland. Some of this folklore might

[3] Figure 6 in the Appendix shows the transference of property from Catholic ownership to Protestant ownership in Ireland from 1641 to 1703.

[4] Joseph Campbell, *"*Mythology and the Individual," *Mythology and the Individual: The Collected Works of Joseph Campbell* (HighBridge Audio, 1997).

[5] Sidney, *Sidney Letters and Memorials of State,* 653.

well have been based on fact, though not necessarily; after all, would folklore be as compelling if it did not contain some element of truth? On the other hand, some of it has to be treated much like the apocryphal exploits of Robin Hood. As with many stories that are supposedly based on truth and are widely circulated over place and time, reality blurs and the tale instead illustrates the collective imagination rather than providing a strictly historical account. Yet some legends, while arising as simple allegories of common human experiences, may transcend their simple, symbolic function and become real to those who continue to repeat them.

The use of myths, legends, and historiography aided the native Irish in their quest to unify their population by complicating the perception of Other, which had been created during English colonization. Through the push to define Irishness by anchoring it in a Celtic past, the Irish expressed idea that "history is an imprinting of the present on to the past."[6] Myths about figures such as Gráinne Ní Mháille stressed a common fate that allowed for the creation of a new imagined community.[7] Writing that "without myths, memories and symbols by which to mark off group members from 'strangers,' and without the cultural elites to interpret and elaborate them, there can be no real ethnie [sic]," British scholar Anthony Smith has argued, "myths gave meaning and purpose to cultural entities, and a sense of attachment and belonging to mobilized populations."[8] Through the reclamation of historical memory in folklore, an Irish national identity was asserted in opposition to the colonial Other. This idea countered the "objective of colonial discourse… [to] construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis

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[6] Jonathan Friedman, "The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 94, no. 4 (1992): 837-859, 837.

[7] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso Books, 1991).

[8] Anthony D. Smith, "Ethnic Myths and Ethnic Revivals," *Journal of European Sociology*, Vol. 25, no. 2 (November 1984), 283-305, 288; Jonathan Friedman, "The Past in the Future," 801.

of race [and gender], in order to justify conquest."[9] In order to arouse opposition against colonialism, Irish nationalists at the beginning of the movement used figures such as Gráinne Ní Mháille to rally the populace.

However, it must be remembered that, as this dissertation has shown, patriotism was not what spurred Gráinne Ní Mháille, but rather survival; she was not a patriot of Ireland, but rather a sixteenth-century champion of clan. Nonetheless, she would be celebrated for her mantle of Irish patriotism as Irish nationalists fought for an identity separate from that of England. In the centuries following her death, Irish patriots would celebrate her deeds – real or imagined – and use them as justification and exemplars for their own actions. While Gráinne was not attempting to fight for the Ireland defined by later Irish nationalists, the elements of her story were used by the later nationalists as a "set of instructions for resisting, sympathizing, supporting, living, and dying in circumstances deemed oppressive and unjust."[10] The myths as well as the history surrounding Gráinne illustrate a series of cultural processes in which oppression and resistance shaped identity. Due to the increasing distance of the historical Gráinne with the passage of time, she was both familiar to and differentiated from her later audience and, consequently, was more easily stereotyped. Thus, she was "good to think with."[11] Appearing often as the symbol

[9] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 70.

[10] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), as cited in Graham Seal, "The Robin Hood Principle: Folklore, History, and the Social Bandit," *Journal of Folklore Research*, Vol. 46, no. 1 (January-April 2009): 67-89, 83.

[11] Claude Levi-Strauss, *Totemism*, R. Needham (trans.) (London: Merlin, 1964), cited in Anthony D. Buckley, "Conflicting Histories: Approaching the Ethnic History of Ireland," *Oral History*, Vol. 30, no. 2 (Autumn, 2002): 85-92, 88.

for Éirinn, Gráinne was presented as lamenting the fate of Ireland – both its fate as a nation as well as the fate of individual Irish heroes.[12]

The nationalistic portrayal of Ireland as a woman built on older traditions within Gaelic Irish lore. In the eleventh-century saga *Echtra mac nEchach Muigmedóin* (The adventure of the sons of Eochaid Mugmedón), Niall Noígíallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages) and several of his brothers encountered a hideous old hag guarding a well. She demanded a kiss in exchange for water. While his brothers refused and were willing to do without, Niall consented to kiss and lie with her. Once he did, she was transformed into a beautiful young woman, who was Ireland personified. Telling Niall that he and his descendants would rule, this story became one of the bases for *banfheis rigi*, the idea that a king must have sexual relations with a woman embodying sovereignty in order to rule.[13] Thus, within this Gaelic Irish literary tradition, the woman legitimized the man as king. Their fates would be entwined, as she only remained young and beautiful as long as the king was worthy. Told with few variations over and over again, stories such as this one helped to create a historical tradition – "a people's history" – that was recognizable to the Irish populace.[14]

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[12] Éirinn is the Irish word for Ireland. Shortened to Erin, the term would be widely used by poets and nationalists.

[13] Elisabeth Benard and Beverly Moon, *Goddesses Who Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 93.

[14] This saga is recorded in such texts as the *Book of Ballymote* (1390), *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (1497), and *Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin* (c. 15th century). Regarding the relationship between folklore and history, see Soumen Sen, *Khasi-Jaintia Folklore: Context, Discourse, and History* (Chennai, India: National Folklore Support Centre, 2004), esp. chapter 8 "Folklore as a Source of Ethno-History: The Khasi-Jaintia Folk Narrative."

Sagas such as *Echtra mac nEchach Muigmedóin* were part of Irish oral traditions and influenced modern Irish writings.[15] Both the composition of new verses as well as the oral transmission and performance of traditional prose tales were essential aspects of *filidecht* – the "poetic profession." According to modern scholars, the *fili's* – or poet's – "main business was not the mere recital of tales, but first the exposition of them… Secondly, he was expected to use myths for the purpose of illustration (*fri desimirecht)*."[16] In the centuries following the Tudor "conquest," the modern literary image of Ireland as female became a political tool through which Irish nationalists expressed their anger at England and at the process of colonization. Imagery of Ireland as a hag implied that England, the strong masculine ruler, was unworthy. However, while the female figure of Ireland could be abused by the king, she could not die, making her ultimately the more powerful of the two figures.

Links between folklore and rebellion have had an enduring influence on the ballads of Ireland because protests on national grounds had been occurring for centuries, before the twentieth century. Dating back to pre-Christian times, poets were seen as holding the highest status under Brehon law. While many poets were wanderers who provided a sense of cultural unity, Gaelic Irish society was also wary of them because of the poets' control of satire. Legitimate satire had an important role in Gaelic culture in that it controlled people's social behavior and could even cause kings to modify their behavior by encouraging public ridicule for even the slightest form of rudeness or arrogance. Even after English common law had taken root

[15] For further discussion of influence of oral traditions, see Joseph Falaky Nagy, "Orality in Medieval Irish Narrative: An Overview," *Oral Tradition,* Vol. 1/2 (1986): 272-301.

[16] Seán Mac Airt, "Filidecht and Coimgne," *Ériu,* Vol. 18 (1958): 139-152, 150.

in Ireland, those who would abuse their power feared the power that poets wielded.[17] Thus ballads and later plays, which gave free expression to the nationalist cause within Ireland, were a continuation of this Gaelic poetic tradition. While often appropriating older musical arrangement and themes, nationalistic literature would create a collective memory in which a sense of unity would be grounded. This unity would be critical because while Irish nationalism would come to be equated with Catholicism, Irish Protestants played a pivotal role in its development from the eighteenth century onwards.[18]

Collective memories exist in every society. Memories that evoke particular places or people often do not correspond to the reality that exists in the contemporary moment; however, the memory continues to be a part of the daily lived experience. Memories become a means not only of remembering past places, people and events, but also of commemorating them. As French historian Pierre Nora has argued, the conscious need to reconstruct the past explains collective memory.[19] By linking the past to the present, while incorporating both traditional and modern themes, collective memory meets the needs of the current time. Memory for the Irish

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[17] Liam Breatnach, Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1987).

[18] Irish Protestant nationalists included Wolfe Tone, leader of the 1798 Rebellion, and Charles Stuart Parnell, the Irish Nationalist leader of the Home Rule movement, as well as influential writer Robert Erskine Childers. For further information, se Thomas Bartlett (ed.), *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone Memoirs, Journals and Political Writings, Compiled and Arranged by William T.W. Tone, 1826* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1998); Paul Bew, *Enigma: A New Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2011); Heather K. Crawford, "Southern Irish Protestants and 'Irishness,'" *Oral History*, Vol. 39, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 53-64; Henry Harrison, *Parnell Vindicated: The Lifting of the Veil* (London: Constable, 1931); T.W. Moody, R.B. McDowell and C.J. Woods (eds.), *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763–98, Volume I: Tone's Career in Ireland to June 1795* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); William Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

[19] Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (eds.), *Realms of Memory*: *The Construction of the French Past*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 8.

was not simply about remembering a past reality, but about recreating the reality in particular ways to satisfy a present purpose. Throughout the centuries following the Tudor period, the Irish – whether they were Gaelic Irish, Hiberno-Normans, or descendants of the New English – would include in this recreation an understanding of the nature of and the impact of colonization. Heroes of one period might become forgotten in the next era or even vilified, before rising from the ashes again to become heroes.[20] Thus, modern scholars seek to discover why memories are constructed in particular ways at particular times. Molded by contemporary concerns, the past is a social construction. Because what is remembered (or forgotten) is often shaped by the needs of the society at a specific time, memories serve a social purpose in which identity can be created and transmitted.[21]

Within collective memory, the way historical figures are remembered and celebrated reveals a society's beliefs and values as well as creating a sense of identity. Observing that it was not "unusual to hear the adventures and escapes of highwaymen and outlaws recited by the lower order with the greatest minuteness, and dwelt on with a surprising fondness," Anglo-Irish antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker recognized the popularity of the Irish outlaw hero.[22] By embodying a communal feeling of justice, rather than those structures of justice established by the English state, Irish outlaw heroes became a reflection of a population's perceptions of

[20] For further discussion, see Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory;* Frederic C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

[21] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* Lewis A. Coser (trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[22] T. Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1824) (reprint: Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1985), 55.

subjugation and social injustice.[23] The outlaw heroes' popularity centered on their willingness to rebel not only against authority, but also against abusive authority. As a result, an outlaw hero's virtues would be magnified while his or her flaws would be overlooked. By connecting Gráinne Ní Mháille's resistance to contemporary resistance, balladeers linked her – like other outlaw heroes –with powerful notions of national identity. Viewed as a champion of the people, Gráinne's life and the legends that surrounded her acted as a crucial marker of complex power relationships within the colonial discourse. Emphasizing the interaction between myth and history, figures like her aided in the production and perpetuation of identity. One scholar has commented that "a great quantity of Irish folklore [heroines] are those acting in contravention of legal ordinances."[24] Widely sung and told, Irish tradition celebrated outlaw heroes as a source of continuing resistance to colonial domination.[25]

The historical reputation of Gráinne was crafted through a continuous, enduring, and potentially contested process. Because memory is not simply something that an individual or a society has, but is rather something that is an activity, "remembering" represents a verb in which people are actively participating. It incorporates what has been referred to as a "blend of

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[23] Paul Kooistra, *Criminals As Heroes: Structure, Power, and Identity* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1989).

[24] Daithi Ó hÒgáin, *The Hero in Irish Folk History* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1985), 161. See also Daithi Ó hÒgáin, "Outlaws," in *The Lore of Ireland*: *An Encyclopedia of Myth, Legend and Romance* (Cork: Collins Press, 2006), 414-416.

[25] While the reasons given for one individual's transformation from law-abiding to law-breaking subject within a ballad may vary, colonialism and the related class and religious frictions are the most commonly presented causes. By the eighteenth century, the colonizers would come to be defined as members of the Protestant ruling class while the colonized were lower class Catholics. While this dichotomy of colonizer/colonized is oversimplified, discriminatory legislation and penal laws dispossessed the majority of the Gaelic-Irish and Catholic Anglo-Irish of property and power. For further discussion, see Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *The Hero in Irish Folk History*.

information contained in specific traces encoded at the time it occurred, plus inferences based on knowledge, expectations, beliefs, and attitudes derived from other sources."[26] Memory, like history, challenges a society to "recover the past and introduce it to the present."[27] As one hisorian has commented, groups "negotiate over [memory's] meaning, and… how they preserved and absorbed that meaning into their ongoing concerns."[28] Memory acts as a form of rhetoric in which either an individual or a society can write about itself; it is, as Frederic Bartlett has described, the "manner and matter" of remembering.[29]

In her lifetime, Gráinne's exploits earned her the approval and support of not only the O'Malley clan, but also of men from neighboring clans who opted to join her crews in order to survive and even prosper. However, in the centuries following her death, Gráinne would be transformed into a myth, rather than simply a historical figure. She would become symbolic of the quest for Irish national identity.[30] Like Robin Hood, Gráinne represented hope for a better world – however defined. She served as symbol of Irish resistance to the perceived oppression of the English. The legends that surround her are a composite of possible elements combined and recombined by the tellers in response to their audience.

Linking her to the "wild west" of Ireland, Gráinne's association with Connaught came to symbolize both the people's and the land's resistance and defiance. English hegemony would

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[26] John F. Kihlstrom, "Memory, Autobiography, History," *Proteus: A Journal of Ideas*, Vol. 19, no. 2 (Fall) 2002: 1-6, 3.

[27] David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, no. 4 (Mar. 1989): 1117-1129, 1117.

[28] Ibid., 1123.

[29] Frederic C. Bartlett, *Remembering*, 121.

[30] For a further discussion on collective memory and its shaping of heroes, see Gary Fine, *Difficult Reputations: Collective Memories of the Evil, Inept, and Controversial* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

falter upon the perceived frontier of Connaught, with its sparse population. Here, where the Irish language would survive the effects of the Cromwellian invasion and *an Gorta Mór* (the Great Hunger of the 1840s, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalists would search for the roots of a purely Irish identity.[31] By breaking with both English and Irish societal conventions, the "Pirate Queen of Connaught" was a representative of natural independence, an image appropriated early on by Irish nationalists in the fight to gain political independence from England. Seen as "Irish of the Irish," Gráinne's family lineage, which supposedly went further back than the Vikings, provided Irish nationalists with historical links to pre-English ideas of power, sovereignty, and identity. Claiming descent from Brian Bóru through both blood and marriage, Gráinne was portrayed in myth and legend as the embodiment of this great king, whose defeat of the Vikings in 1014 freed Ireland from foreign domination.[32]

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[31] Cromwellian settlement in Ireland was not so much a plantation as a transfer of the sources of wealth and power from Catholics to Protestants, creating not a Protestant community, but a Protestant upper class. Under the Cromwellian regime, Ireland was divided into two parts. Those Irish deemed innocent of participating in the seventeenth century uprisings were transplanted to Connaught and Clare, while the land in the remaining twenty-six counties were confiscated and used to pay the government's creditors. All confiscated land was to be transferred on 26 September 1653 and all unauthorized Irish were to be in "Hell or Connaught" by May 1, 1654. This transfer of people laid the foundations for the Great Famine of the nineteenth century. For further reading on the Cromwellian settlement, see Michael O'Siochru, *God's Executioner- Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008); John Patrick Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Charleston, SC: Bibliolife, 2009), esp. 81-120; Karl S. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land: The 'Adventures' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

[32] This idea of the overthrow of Viking lordship originates in the twelfth-century work *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh* (*The War of the Irish with the Foreigners*). However, the Vikings did not conquer Ireland, though they had an immense impact on the country. Like the later Normans, the Irish assimilated them. For further information about the Vikings in Ireland, see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin: Irish Book Center, 1972); Howard B. Clarke, "The Vikings in Ireland: A Historian's Perspective," *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol 9, no 3 (1995): 7-9; Raghnall Ó Floinn, "The Archaeology of the Early Viking Age in Ireland," in H.B. Clarke, M. Ní Mhaonaigh and R. Ó Floinn (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998).

While being a woman brought Gráinne to the attention of English administrators of the Tudor era, within the Irish chronicles, her unfeminine ways left her simply as a footnote in regards to her husbands and their power. Yet the depiction of Gráinne as the "Pirate Queen of Ireland" enshrined her in legend. With increasing distance between her lifetime and that of the audience, the memory of her life became a complex combination of "glamorization, sentimentalization, sanitization, sanctification, and commodification."[33] Thus, Gráinne's charisma – real or fictional – was produced and perpetuated from a narrative framework stretching from the past into the present and living into the future. Consequently, while the stories of many historic Irish figures have been lost to time, Gráinne's story continued to live on due to folklore and literature.

The various types of folklore based on figures such as Gráinne tell us about the changing concerns of Irish people over time. As an important source for political rhetoric, popular legends allowed group loyalties to develop and become a source of inspiration.[34] Many of the stories

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[33] Seal, "The Robin Hood Principle," 74.

[34] Other historical outlaw figures include Redmond O'Hanlon, William Brennan, Black Francis, Dermot Buckley, Donal O'Keefe, Eamonn an Chnoic, Richard Power, Sein Ru Murphy, Shan Bernagh, and Souple Corrigan. While folklore portrayed these outlaw heroes as probably more altruistic than their historical counterparts actually were, their actions were seen as justifiable given the socio-political environment of Ireland. [Georges-Denis Zimmerman, *Songs of Irish Rebellion: Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs 1780-1900* (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, Inc., 1967), 24.] For further discussion of these outlaw heroes, also see T. W. Moody, "Redmond O'Hanlon," *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society*, Vol. 1 (1935-6): 17-33; Séamas O'Catháin, *Irish Life and Lore* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1982), esp. ch. 1; Aidan Clarke, "The Colonization of Ulster and the Rebellion of 1641 (1603-60)," in T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds.), *The Course of Irish History* (Dublin: The Mercier Press, 1993), 189-203; John J. Marshall, *Irish Tories, Rapparees and Robbers; with some account of the lives and actions of the most notable* (Dungannon: Tyrone Ltd., 1927); Niall O'Ciosain, "Highwaymen, Tories, and Rapparees," *History Ireland*, Autumn 1993: 19-21; Fionnuala Williams, "The Outlaw in Ireland," in Jawaharlal Handoo and Reimund Kvideland (eds.), *Folklore: New Perspectives* (Mysore: Zooni Publications, 1991), 43-49.

told in Connaught and elsewhere in Ireland about Gráinne reflected her perceived ability to inspire loyalty as well as her willingness to fight for her survival. One such popular legend was based on historic events of the 1560s. At that time, the English had ousted the O'Flaherty from his position as heir to *Iar Connacht* by illegally naming another young chief to that post.[35] This action led to infighting within the clans. It was at this time that legend accused Gráinne's first husband Dónal O'Flaherty of murdering his own step-nephew in order to advance the career of his full nephew, Risdeárd an Iarainn Bourke (Richard-in-Iron Bourke).[36] Shortly thereafter, Dónal captured the Joyce's island-fortress in Lough Corrib, at which time he is said to have earned the soubriquet "Dónal the Cock" due to his ferocity on the field.[37] This feat led to retaliation by the Joyce clan in which they killed Dónal. At this time, the Joyces attempted to re-take the "Cock's Castle." According to the tale, the Joyces faced unexpected opposition from the O'Flaherty clan led by a revenge-seeking Gráinne. This incident would earn her the nickname "The Hen" and the fortress that started the whole incident is still known as *Caislan-an-Circa*, "The Hen's Castle."[38] Stories such as this one about her ability to survive and to prosper made her legend grow stronger.

Sixteenth-century English administrators such as Richard Bingham, the Governor of Connaught, viewed Gráinne as a criminal and an instigator of Irish rebellion. Yet, in the centuries following her death, the myths surrounding Gráinne would embolden ordinary Irish

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[35] Roderic O'Flaherty, *A Chorographical Description of West Connaught 1684* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1846), 385. *Iar Connacht* includes County Clare, all of County Galway west of the river Corrib and part of the barony of Ross in County Mayo.

[36] Chambers, 42-43.

[37] Joseph Sharp, *Mary Queen of Scots and Other Poems* (London: Spire Publishing, 2009), 26.

[38] Caesar Otway, *Tour in Connaught Comprising Sketches of Clonmachnoise Joyce Country and Ach* (Dublin: William Curry and Jun. & Co., 1889), 229-245.

men and women with an opportunity to vicariously enjoy what a modern scholar has called "brief victories and imagin[ing of] their collective dignity in the midst of political defeat and its consequences."[39] Her life became a reflection of that of the Irish as they dealt with issues of morality and justice. Men such as the nineteenth-century Attorney General for Ireland John Edward Walsh bemoaned the popularity of "outlaw heroes" as they represented moral conduct antithetical to the law he was upholding.[40]

Regardless of the truth of the legends, folkloric sources celebrated Gráinne as a "warrior woman" and as someone admired for her deeds by many of the men and women of Ireland. Seen as a flamboyant outlaw – albeit with the added twist of femininity – she was a figure from this historical past who motivated certain forms of political resistance. Her very womanhood distinguished her from the crowd of other potential inspirations. Contrary to native mores and chauvinistic pride, Gráinne had been able to forge a lasting bond with her men that had made them willing to follow her for over a half-century. Based on more than simply success in the maritime trades or feminine allure, Gráinne molded her men into a force loyal only to her. Purported by modern biographers to have commented, "mh'fear lei làn loinge de Cloinn Conroi agus Cloinn Mic an Allaidh na làn loinge d'or [she would rather have a shipful of Conroys and

[39] Ray Cashman, "The Heroic Outlaw in Irish Folklore and Popular Literature," *Folklore,* Vol. 111, no. 2 (October 2000): 191-215, 191.

[40] John Edward Walsh, *Sketches of Ireland Sixty Years Ago* (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1847), 3-5.

MacAnallys than a shipful of gold],"[41] the English State Papers credit her with having led men from different warring clans.[42]

The stories told about Gráinne often provided practical models for action in a modern context. Gráinne's life exhibited both moments of cooperation with the English as well as moments of contrariness in which she appeared to ignore English authority. Therefore, even though she "had 'bended knee' to perfidious Albion,"[43] her appearance of cooperation while simultaneously supporting rebellion would be a celebrated message for future Irishmen. As the Irish nationalist movement gained momentum in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and new leadership arose, Gráinne would become more than simply a story told around the peat fires; she would again become a historical figure, even as her person would become entwined with the ideas of Ireland and nation and become symbolic of Ireland and its underdog status. By representing moments of authenticity in which the Irish had proven able to negotiate their fate, the Irish Pirate Queen would inspire modern Irish nationalism.

Long after her death, anecdotes of Gráinne's courage and her exploits continued to be sung and held a distinguished place in Irish lore. Throughout the stanzas of the popular Jacobite song *Grana Weal*, Gráinne represented the wedding of Ireland to the eighteenth-century cause of Bonnie Prince Charlie:

> That the king of the right should espouse Grana Weal.
> With this espousal, [T]he craven English churls shall all powerless kneel...

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[41] Morgan Llywelyn, *Grania: She-King of the Irish Seas* (New York, Macmillan, 2007), 217; Benerson Little, *How History's Greatest Pirates Pillaged, Plundered, and Got Away with It: The Stories, Techniques and Tactics of the Most Feared Sea Rovers from 1500-1800* (Minneapolis, MN: Fair Winds Press, 2010), 37

[42] *State Papers of Ireland*, 63/19/56.

[43] Chambers, *Granuaile*, 117.

Justice long slighted will come in his train.[44]

Thus, Gráinne became the name in which Ireland was celebrated and in which her struggles were embodied. Under Gráinne's various pseudonyms, Ireland's identity was masked, allowing for Irish freedom songs and struggles to be openly sung. One Munster poet asked,

> How long shall the mansions
> And lands of the Gael
> Be the spoil of the Spoilers
> Of Gráinne Mhaol?
>
> …The peasant mutters
> Did we try we'd prevail
> And the Saxons should burden not
> Sweet Gráinne Mhaol."[45]

The term "Mhaol," meaning bald or cropped, often references Gráinne directly as she was rumored to have cut off her hair in order to hide her feminine identity from her father's crew when she was young. Yet, songs such as *Grana Weal* used this depiction to symbolize Erin, personifying the desolate condition of Ireland from wars, famine, and oppression. While illustrating the effects of colonization on Ireland, these songs also stressed the ability of the colonized Irish people to improvise and survive.

A "courtier call'd Dorset from Parkgate" attempted to persuade Gráinne to get "close" with himself and thus Britain in the eighteenth-century political ballad *Granuweal*.[46] Echoing

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[44] James Hardiman, "Irish Minstrelsy; or Bardic Remains of Ireland; with English Poetical Translations. Collected and Edited with Notes and Illustrations," *The Monthly Review - From September to December Inclusive,* Vol. 3, no. 1 (1832): 69-84, 83.

[45] John O'Daly (ed.), "Gráinne Mhaol - John (Clarach) Mac Donnell Sang," *The Poets and Poetry of Munster: A Selection of Irish Songs by the Poets of the Last Century* (Dublin: John O'Daly, 1860), 93.

[46] James J. Gaskin, *Irish Varieties: Or, Sketches of History and Character, from Ancient and Modern Sources and Original Documents ... to which is Added an Account of the Revels of the Past Merry Monarchs of the Kingdom of Dalkey* (Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1874), 32-33.

nationalistic sympathy, the author of this metaphorical tale has been interpreted as saying that "England is trying to seduce Ireland… They're using the current political context and applying it to the Granuaile of old."[47] The song referred to the political confrontation known as the "Money Bill Dispute," in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland Henry Boyle refused to forward to London an Irish tax surplus. This crisis, which took place between 1753 and 1756, would influence the later eighteenth-century Irish Patriot Party, led by Henry Grattan. Campaigning for Irish legislative freedom from England, Grattan recognized the inherent interconnectedness of these two close islands. His declaration that "the Channel forbids union, the Ocean forbids separation" illuminated the conflict of multiple identities.[48] Just as later Irish nationalists would struggle with creating an identity that was separate from England, a country interlinked with Ireland for eight hundred years, Gráinne was often presented as poised between two worlds; she gave the appearance of cooperating with England while at the same time supporting rebellion against it.

This theme of cooperation as rebellion is continued in *Billy Bluff and the Squire,* an eighteenth-century satire about the Protestant ruling class. In it, the poor ballad-monger was supposedly arrested for selling, among other broadsheets, one called "Grawny Wail's Address to the Potato Diggers." Squire Firebrand was so furious at "this most wicked seditious damnable hand-bill" because of his hatred of "Grawny Wail, and all things that have a double meaning."[49]

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[47] Dan Milner, an Irish-American folk singer, quoted in Joseph Caputo, "The Importance of Irish Pirates," *Around the Mall: Scenes and Sightings from the Smithsonian Museums and Beyond,* March 17, 2009, http://blogs.smithsonianmag.com/aroundthemall/2009/03/the-importance-of-irish-pirates/.

[48] Cited in John Stuart Mackenzie, *Arrows of Desire: Essays on British Characteristics* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), 198.

[49] James Porter, *Billy Bluff and the Squire: or, A Sample of the Times, As it Appeared Periodically, in Five Letters* (Belfast, 1812), 48.

Printed in the *Northern Star* as a series of letters, this satire supported the eighteenth-century Society of United Irishmen, who sought to unite Irishmen across divides of religion and ethnicity. Author James Porter, who was later hanged because of his support of the United Irish Rebellion of 1798, used the character Grawny Wail to illuminate the social and political divides within eighteenth Irish society.[50] In the ballad, Grawny Wail requests help from the "thousands and thousands of you [that] can meet of all names and religions, without breaking the peace, without quarrelling, and without drinking, [which] is not that a happy sign?" She asks this as her "large potato garden is in great need of digging and weeding…"[51] In return, she "will give you all, as long as you all live, plenty of my own breast milk for your pains."[52] The character of the Squire, recognizing that "Grawny Wail means Ireland, and a cursed old impudent name it is," seeks not only to confine her, but limit access to necessary resources in order to "change her tune."[53] Here Grawny Wail represents the subversive elements that were thwarting British attempts at successively securing domination over Ireland. Even as late as the 1840s, this satire would be continuously reprinted, as England sought to maintain control over an unwilling Ireland.

Ballads would continue to use Gráinne to symbolize the struggle Ireland faced with England. In the traditional ballad *Granu Uile's Lamentation*, Ireland is represented as a banshee-like matron whose

Head was bare and her grey hair over her eyes hung down

[50] The United Irish Rebellion of 1789, inspired by both the American and French revolutions, attempted to overthrow British rule. The Society of United Irishmen was a revolutionary group that attempted to unify Irishmen across religious divides and supported Catholic emancipation as well as democratic reforms.

[51] Porter, 47.

[52] Ibid., 48.

[53] Ibid., 49.

Her neck and waist, her hands and feet with iron chains were bound
Her pensive strain and plaintive wail mingled with the evening gale
And the song she sang with mournful tongue was, My poor old Granuaile.[54]

This street ballad describes her grief at the past 600 years of history, all way back to "the day that Henry made of me proud Albion's prize."[55] Gráinne wonders who will take up Brian Bóru's sword, who long ago had driven away the Vikings and freed her once before from foreign conquerors. The song concludes:

With blood besmeared and bathed in tears, her harp she sweetly strung
And o'er the air her mournful tune from one last chord she wrung
Her voice so clear fell on my ear, at length my strength did fail
I went away and this did say, God help you, Granuaile.[56]

This theme of melancholia permeated much of the nationalistic repertoire as hope about the achievement of nation waned and waxed.

In *The Lament of Granu Wail,* a metaphorical struggle between the poor old woman and an individual called John Bull takes place.[57] John Bull, described in the ballad as a "farmer… merchant… [that] had dependencies," is the national personification of England that dates back

[54] According to Georges Denis Zimmermann, the song dates from early nineteenth century, with this version dating to the 1870s. "Granu Uile's Lamentation" (broadside), cited in Georges Denis Zimmermann, *Song of Irish Rebellion: Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1966), 56.

[55] From the traditional ballad *Granuaile*. Edward Bunting (ed.), *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music, Containing a Variety of Admired Airs never before Published and also the Compositions of Conolan and Carolan, Collected from the Harpers &c. in the different Provinces of Ireland, and adapted for the Piano-Forte* (Dublin: W. Power & Co., 1796), 36. Bunting said that the tune was obtained from a piper named MacDonnell in 1797 and he thought that the tune was as old as Grace O'Malley herself. (viii, 93).

[56] Zimmermann, *Song of Irish Rebellion*, 56.

[57] Manus O'Conor (ed.), *Irish Come-All-Ye's: A Repository of Ancient Irish Songs and Ballads, comprising Patriotic, Descriptive, Historical and Humorous Gems, Characteristic of the Irish Race* (New York: The Popular Publishing Company, 1901), 133.

to the early eighteenth century. To the Irish Catholic majority, he would symbolize everything that was wrong in Ireland by the nineteenth century.[58]

> John Bull was a *bodach*, as rich as a Jew,
> As griping, as grinding, as conscienceless, too;
> A wheedler, a shuffler, a rogue by wholesale,
> And a swindler moreover, says Granu Wail!
>
> John Bull was a banker, pursy and fat,
> With gold in both pockets, and plenty of that;
> And he tempted his neighbours to sell their entail
> Tis by scheming he prospers, says Granu Wail![59]

Within the ballad, Granu Wail cries out for "Our rights, Uncle John! Else our flag on the gale?"[60] Embodying the nationalists' view of what was wrong with Ireland, John Bull is tasked with the question of Irish equality under the Act of the Union or a separate nation embodied by the idea of a flag blowing in the wind. Recognizing this struggle between a masculine England and a feminine Ireland, Granu Waile is expressing the nationalistic cry that newspapers such as *The Nation* would echo by the end of the nineteenth century.[61]

While many citizens of countries have presented their countries allegorically as poor, old, grey-haired or crying when their situations were seen as desperate, this motif of a lamenting

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[58] For a discussion of the iconography of John Bull, see Miles Taylor, "John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c. 1712-1929," *Past & Present,* Vol. 134 (Feb., 1992): 93-128.

[59] Manus O'Conor, *Old-Time Songs and Ballads of Ireland* (1901) Reprinted: London: Forgotten Books, 2013, 132-3.

[60] Ibid., 132. This line is asking whether England will give Ireland equal rights or whether the Irish should declare independence and fly her flag in the wind. The Irish tricolor flag was presented in 1848 to Thomas Frances Meagher, a member of the Young Ireland movement, by a sympathetic group of French women. It was not officially recognized as the national flag until it was raised above the General Post Office in Dublin during the Easter Rising of 1916.

[61] *The Nation* was an Irish nationalist newspaper published weekly during the latter part of the nineteenth century. T. F. O'Sullivan, *The Young Irelanders* (Tralee, Co. Kerry: The Kerryman, 1945).

matron was extremely popular with the native Irish. Playing upon the feminized state of conquest that England thrust upon the land and the Irish people, references such as a "poor grey-headed Ireland, with bloody tears" symbolized the political transformation that colonization had triggered.[62] While Ireland once had been "the land of heart's desire," England's treatment of Ireland had aged her as she grieved for what had been lost.[63] This image of Ireland as a victimized woman suggested a need for her to be rescued by Irish men. Ireland sought to "strengthen the bold sons of old Granuaile" whose sacrifice would restore Ireland to her rights.[64]

Once seen as the savior of her clan, Gráinne would become a symbl for Ireland's continuing struggles with England. Songs and poems about her were popularized in the aisling format, in which the basic premise was that the poet went out walking and met a beautiful woman. "He then describes her dress and appearance and asks her who she is."[65] When asked who she is, she often replies "Mìse Éire" – "I am Ireland." As "the personification of Ireland,

[62] From a rebel poem about James Cotter that was written in Cork in 1720. According to Irish historians, Cotter was innocent and was rather hanged for the Jacobite opinions of his father. J.A. Froud, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1874), 464.

[63] *The Land of Heart's Desire* is a play by William Butler Yeats, first performed in London at the Avenue Theatre in 1894. W. B. Yeats, *The Land of Heart's Desire* (Portland: Me. T.B. Mosher, 1903).

[64] This line is from the ballad "The Blackbird of Sweet Avondale," which is attributed to Fanny Parnell. "The Blackbird of Sweet Avondale" (Broadside, 1881), cited in Georges Denis Zimmermann, *Song of Irish Rebellion: Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1966), 277. Modeled on the ballad "The Royal Black Bird" about Bonnie Prince Charlie, it portrays a maiden weeping at the imprisonment of Charles Stuart Parnell when he was imprisoned in Kilmainham Gaol (October 12, 1881 – May 2, 1882). For further discussion on Ireland as a victimized female, see Gerry Kearns, "Mother Ireland and The Revolutionary Sisters," *Cultural Geographies* Vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct 2004): 443-467.

[65] Patrick C. Power, *A Literary History of Ireland* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1969), 97.

she promises early deliverance from the foreign yoke."[66] Within many aislings, Gráinne represented the yearning for liberty that re-occurred throughout the centuries in Ireland.

However, the mid-nineteenth century ballad *The Deeds of O'Connell* is an inversion of the typical aisling. Rather than a familiar female figure appearing to a man in this song, Daniel O'Connell appeared "one night as old Granua reclined to rest."[67] Known as the "Liberator of Ireland," O'Connell was instrumental in gaining political rights for Irish Catholics from the English. Thus, in this dream of Granua's, O'Connell foretells the day when "the dark sable of night had pass'd from the sky" and Ireland would be free.[68] While memorializing the accomplishments of the O'Connell who "freed Erin from bondage and many a snare," the street ballad reminds the Irish that O'Connell and many others had fought so that "Erin will shine like the beams of the sun."[69]

Continuing this nationalistic theme is the nineteenth-century ballad *Erin's Green Shores*. In this work, Ireland was represented allegorically in the form of a woman in bondage to English power. In a dream, Erin's message enthralled a young man as she asked for assistance.

> I know you're a true son of Granuaile,
> And my secrets to you I'll unfold,
> For here in the midst of all danger,
> Not knowing my friends from my foes.
> I'm a daughter of Daniel O'Connell.
> From England I lately came o'er.

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[66] Ibid.

[67] James N. Healy (ed.), *The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads, Volume Two: History and Politics* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1969), 75-76

[68] Ibid.

[69] "The Deeds of O'Connell," in James N. Healy (ed.), *The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads, Volume Two: History and Politics* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1969), 75-76.

I've come to awaken my brethren
Who slumber on Erin's green shore.[70]

Recognizing the young man as "a true son of Granuaile," she identifies him as a patriot while identifying herself unambiguously as the "daughter of Daniel O'Connell."[71] This woman wakes the young man – and with him Ireland – to a sense of pride in being Irish Catholic. Speaking of the dangers she faces, she seeks to rally all who "slumber on Erin's Green Shore."[72] Upon awakening, the young patriot realizes she is gone, but he will honor her memory and the message of faith and homeland will linger with him forever.

The image that appeared in works such as *Erin's Green Shores* differed from the earlier image of Ireland as an old, grieving woman. Rather, Ireland was now illustrated as a maiden in distress fending off an unwelcome suitor who must be saved by Irish*men*. Despite the trials that this personification of Ireland has been through, she remained beautiful. However, unable to protect herself, she depended on others to do so. By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, poetry and songs made use of this motif to express the increasing push against colonization and for independence.

Irish nationalists sought to erase some – if not all – of the colonial legacy. In order to oppose English hegemony, nationalists attempted to reverse centuries of Anglicization to create an independent Irish nation. Nationalists tried to recreate a Gaelic Ireland by looking back to Ireland's past: "Only by returning to their unique history and culture could Irish men and women

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[70] "Erin's Green Shores," in Georges Denis Zimmermann, *Song of Irish Rebellion: Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1966), 178-179.

[71] Ibid., 179.

[72] Ibid.

realize their human potential and contribute to the wider European civilization."[73] By attempting to re-claim the past in which English colonization had been imposed upon the island, Irish nationalists aspired to create and revive a national historiography. Created from myths and legends that formed a collective identity, these historical memories could be "used to justify claims to territory and to fight political and ideological battles by suppressing or highlighting certain incidents."[74] As a result, the Celtic Revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would attempt to recover a Gaelic Irish civilization that was distinct from that of England in order to form a central core around which Irish national identity could be created.

Supporting this revival movement, Anglo-Irish poet William Butler Yeats argued that the Irish needed a purely Irish intellectual life – distinct from material needs – in order to preserve their own identity. Many of his works revolved around the theme of self-sacrifice for Ireland, with his female characters representing Ireland. This "analogy with contemporary Ireland is deliberate. Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century needed patriots who were willing to fight and die for her."[75] This motif appeared in the 1902 play *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* written by Yeats and Lady Gregory about an old woman's search for young men to fight for her since her four green fields were stolen.[76] Dreaming of the cultivation of a national literature of the highest aesthetic quality, Yeats along with men and women such as Lady Gregory, George Russell,

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[73] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 1-2.

[74] John Coakley, "Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 10 (2004): 531-560, 532.

[75] Christina Wilson, "Representations of Women in the Abbey Theatre," *Chrestomathy: Annual Review of Undergraduate Research, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Languages, Cultures, and World Affairs, College of Charleston,* Vol. 5 (2006): 291-332, 295.

[76] William Butler Yeats, *The Hour Glass, Cathleen Ni Houlihan, The Pot of Broth* (Dublin: Maunsel, 1905), 35-6.

Douglas Hyde, Standish O'Grady, George Moore, and many others pursued the revival and romanticization of the early legends and history of Ireland. Combined with the popular Gaelic League, these efforts sought to not only keep the Gaelic Irish language alive, but also restore it as the spoken language of the custom. According to Douglas Hyde, who would become the first president of Ireland in 1938, "By giving up our native language and customs, we had thrown away the best claim we had upon the world's recognition of us as a separation nation."[77] These nationalistic movements attempted to recreate a separate cultural Irish nation through the de-Anglicization of the land and people. Within this glorification of an Irish-only past, a large portion of the Irish population embraced heroic stories that helped to articulate and legitimize nationalistic dreams and aspirations.

For nearly 300 years, *Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile* has been a rallying call for Irish nationalism.[78] Dating back to the third Jacobite rising in 1745-6, the phrase originally referred to Bonnie Prince Charlie. Most Irish Catholics – who made up the majority of the Ireland's population – supported the Jacobite rebellion because they believed that the Catholic and thus the "Bonnie" prince would overthrow the Protestant British monarchy and would show his appreciation to his Irish supporters by removing the English landlords who had taken over Irish land. In the end, though, Bonnie Prince Charlie failed on all fronts. In the early twentieth century, nationalist poet Pádraic Pearse wrote new verses for *Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile.* Pearse felt that Gráinne was a more appropriate nationalistic figurehead than "the Young

[77] T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin, *The Course of Irish History* (Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart, Publishers, 2001), 246-247. For further thoughts by Douglas Hyde on the de-anglicanization of Ireland, see Douglas Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," in Charles Gavan Duffy, George Sigerson, and Douglas Hyde, *The Revival of Irish Literature - Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G, Dr. George Sigerson, and Dr. Douglas Hyde* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1910), 115-161.

[78] *Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile* translates to "Oh-ro, You're welcome home."

Pretender," who also had the misfortune of failing in his bid to restore his family to the throne of the Kingdom of Great Britain.[79] In order to inspire confidence, Pearse chose to portray Gráinne as the great patriot of Ireland. Pearse and the rebels of the 1916 Easter Uprising saw Gráinne as a legendary figure whom the English could neither defeat nor break her spirit.[80] As a figurehead of rebellion, Gráinne embodied the belief that Ireland would rise from the ashes of colonization.

With Pádraic Pearse's lyrics - "Welcome oh woman who was so afflicted" – he presents Gráinne as reborn. Her own imprisonment in 1578 by the English paralleled in his opinion the trials that the Irish people faced with their land usurped by the English. "They are Gaels, not French nor Spanish...And they will rout the foreigners!"[81] In direct contrast to the older Jacobite version of *Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile* in which foreigners were supposed to save Ireland, Pearce argued in his version of the song that the Easter Rebellion was to be a "homegrown affair" in which Gráinne was seen as symbolically leading the rescue of Ireland with warriors who were

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[79] William Henry Kautt, *The Anglo-Irish War, 1916-1921: A People's War* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1999), 15. The Kingdom of Great Britain was the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, including Wales. Ireland was not part of the Kingdom of Great Britain as it was a separate realm under the newly created British crown. Ratified by the *Acts of the Union 1707*, the Kingdom of Great Britain existed from May 1, 1707 until December 31, 1800, when the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland joined to create the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

[80] Sean Farrell Moran, *Patrick Pearse and the Politics of Redemption: The Mind of the the Easter Rising*, 1916 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 224. In April 1916, the Easter Uprising is a pivotal moment in Irish history. While it was not so much the rebellion of Easter week that completed the change in the attitude of the Irish people generally as its aftermath, it triggered a push towards independence that would lead to the War of Independence (1919-1921). For more information on the Easter Uprising, see Max Caulfield, *The Easter Rebellion: The Outstanding Narrative History of the 1916 Rising in Ireland* (West Port, CT: Praeger, 1975); Peter De Rosa, *Rebels: The Irish Rising of 1916.* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992); Robert Kee, *The Green Flag*: *A Histoyr of Irish Nationalism* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001); F.X. Martin (ed.), *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising, Dublin 1916* (Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press, 1967).

[81] Kautt, *The Anglo-Irish War*, 153.

"Irish – not French or Spanish."[82] The eighteenth-century rebellion had failed,[83] but in 1916, Ireland's fate would be in the hands of her own Irish warriors.

By tying in a legendary past with the present, Pearse was looking to the future. By welcoming the spirit of rebellion in the shape of Gráinne, this rebel leader was hoping to persuade Irish Catholic soldiers fighting in the British Army during the First World War to join the Irish rebels in the struggle for independence.[84] Irish Republican Army members and sympathizers often sang *Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile* during the Easter Rising of 1916 and the ensuing Irish War of Independence in 1919-1921. Works such as this ballad thus reinterpreted her life in context of the artist's own era; singer Sinead O'Connor's rendition of this same song in response to the Irish troubles of the late twentieth century is witness to this tradition.[85] In the construction of such unity, songs became a potent source of the Irish cultural heritage.

Just as songs such as *Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile* helped to inspire nationalistic fervor, Irish theater played a pivotal role in the nationalistic movement.[86] Borrowing the title of a

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[82] Pádraic H. Pearse, "The Dord Feinne," *Plays, Stories, Poems* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1917), 332.

[83] The 1798 Rebellion led by Wolf Tone was inspired by the French Revolution and the French would give both monetary and military assistance to the rebels.

[84] While seemingly inconsistent with an Irish nationalistic rhetoric, many Irish Catholics joined the British Army in World War I at the urging of John Redmond, a member of Parliament and the leader of the Irish Party. In exchange for the Liberal Party's introduction of the Home Rule bill, Redmond would support the British fight against Germany – "The interests of Ireland – of the whole of Ireland – are at stake in this war." In the first year, 80,000 men from Ireland enlisted, with half from the Protestant north and the remainder from the dominantly Catholic south. [R. Barry O'Brien (ed.), *Home Rule Speeches of John Redmond* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1910); Joseph P. Finnan, *John Redmond and Irish Unity: 1912-1918* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).]

[85] Sinead O'Connor, "Óró, Sé do Bheatha 'Bhaile," *Sean-Nós Nua* (Vanguard Records, 2002).

[86] For further discussion on this, see Ben Levitas, *The Theater of Nation: Irish Drama and Cultural Nationalism 1890-1916* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

nineteenth-century ballad about the 1798 Rebellion, the 1910 political play *The Rising of the Moon* explored the relationship between England and Ireland as Ireland fought for her freedom.[87] Just as the 1798 Rebellion had reflected an attempt to unite Irish Catholics and Protestants into a single movement to remove British authority from Ireland, this political play explored the question of unity and nationhood. Torn between duty and patriotism, the Irish characters of Lady Gregory's play shared stories and songs that would unite them into one nation.

> And the song she sang with mournful air,
> I am old Granuaile,
> Her lips so sweet that monarchs kissed
> Are now grown pale and wan.[88]

The notion of being a citizen of a country subverts any thoughts of duty one might hold towards a foreign nation; patriotism binds the people together. Gregory was highlighting the bond the Irish people had created in which nationality was placed above all else; they were the people of Ireland no matter where they were and what they did.

> Maybe, sergeant, it comes into your head
> sometimes, in spite of your belt and your tunic,
> that it might have been as well for you to have followed Granuaile.[89]

Here the fugitive Fenian entices the police sergeant who is looking for him to let him go by referencing the *Shan Van Voch* or Poor Old Woman – Granuaile. By reminding the sergeant of his heritage, the rebel forces the policeman to question his duty to England and allows for the voice of Ireland to be heard.

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87 The 1798 Irish rebellion, and its aftermath, called into question the future of the Irish political structure. Triggered by this event, the English Parliament would pass the Act of the Union (1801), uniting the Kingdom of Ireland and Kingdom of Britain under the title of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

88 Lady Augusta Gregory, *The Rising of the Moon* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), 75-92, 85.

89 Ibid., 88.

Embodying the abstract ideal of nationhood, the feminization of Ireland within literature served to create a national cultural image. Having witnessed the Irish being emasculated by British rule, Irish nationalists sought to "prove that they were proud men and not afraid of bullets."[90] Seen as martyrs in the aftermath of the Easter Rising of 1916, the rebels had had, as Irish nationalist Richard Mulcahy stated:

> …no opportunity of effective and successful soldierly action. They could do nothing but go in and hold their places and stand their ground until the end came. It was the action of a citizen giving away his life in defiance of guns [marking] the spirit of Easter Week.[91]

Ireland would – through the sacrifice of her men – rise from the ashes. In reviving Ireland, Irish men would reclaim their masculinity. In the fight for independence and the later Irish "Troubles," men fought not just for themselves, but for their women and their children and, by extension, Ireland herself.

Female imagery of Ireland – whether as a young woman or an old hag – was transformed to meet the ideals of the period. Richard Kearny has suggested, "Women became sexually imaginable as the ideal of national independence became politically intangible. Both entered the unreality of myth. They became aspirations rather than actualities."[92] Gráinne Ní Mháille represented a victory for women (and thus for Ireland) as she gained "forbidden" experience that no patriarchal or colonial system could take away. However, once the Irish nation was achieved (in at least the southern part of Ireland), this "forbidden fruit" of self-identity created new

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[90] James Stephens, *The Insurrection in Dublin* (Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1978), 56.

[91] Cited in Clair Wills, *Dublin 1916: The Siege of the GPO* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009),73.

[92] Quoted in C. L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935* (Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 117.

tensions as Irish men sought to re-define their masculinity in a post-colonial society. Women became, as poet Nuala Ni Dhomhnail had phrased it, "damned" again once women's voices were no longer needed to create the nation.[93]

While the English had effectively feminized Ireland and her people in an attempt to extend their colonial authority, with the creation of the Irish nation, the suppression of Irish women continued. The newly fashioned patriarchal society subsumed Irish women under the category of the family. As a recent author has pointed out, this silencing suggests "the damaged psyche of the colonized people mirror[ed] the desires of the colonizers, which serve[ed] to reinforce the need for interpretations to include the various histories and imbalances of power."[94] The domination of Irish women by Irish men was – in part – a response to internal colonization related to the fact that Irish men had been feminized by colonization.[95] This oppression of Irish women allowed Irish males to re-gain their masculinity.[96]

While the metaphor of nation as female has existed and continues to be used, the feminization of Irish folklore and literature – like the feminization of the land and people of

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[93] Nuala Ni Dhomhnail1, "Taimid Darnanta, A Dheirfearacha [We are Damned, My Sisters], "*Women's Studies International Forum,* Vol. 11, no. 4 (1988): 395.

[94] Brenda Murray, "Ireland – A Test Case of Post-Colonialism/Post Colonialism," *Educate: The Journal of Doctoral Research in Education*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (2005): 15-25, 20. For further discussion of this idea, see also Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* C. Farrington (trans.) (New York: Grove Press, 1963); Homi Bhabha, "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition," in P. Williams and L. Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 112-123.

[95] For further discussion of the links between internal colonialism and gender, see Linda Gordon, "Internal Colonialism and Gender," in Ann Laura Stoler (ed.), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 427-451.

[96] For a discussion of this, see Elin Ap Hywel, "Elise and the Great Queens of Ireland: 'Femininity' as Constructed by Sinn Fein and the Abbey Theatre, 1901-1907," in Toni O'Brien Johnson and David Cairns (eds.), *Gender in Irish Writing* (Ballmore, Buckingham: Open University Press, 1991), 23-39.

Ireland – was defined by masculine voices attempting to create identity and authority. With the founding of the modern Irish Republic, Gráinne would again be silenced. Twentieth-century Irish nationalists such as Eamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith not only believed that a woman's place should be in the home, but in 1937 acted upon this belief in the creation of the Irish Constitution:

> In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved. The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.[97]

While women had fought in the 1916 Easter Uprising, nationalists sought to remove women from the political discourse upon the attainment of nationhood. This effort to create a newly Irish patriarchal system would be in part a response to the fusion of Irish nationalism with Catholicism as well as an attempt to dispel Ireland's feminized image.[98] By failing to acknowledging Irish women's role in the fight for independence, Irish men reclaimed their position in the patriarchal hierarchy. Once Ireland gained its nationhood, female figures such as that of Gráinne would no longer be celebrated within the nationalistic dialogue. Gráinne would again fade into the background and again be imagined simply as a story.

Irish nationalists sought to erase colonization's legacy of femininity by claiming a masculinity that distinguished Irish men from Irish women (and Irish boys). The attempt by Irishmen to define "manliness" as the ideal form of masculinity was reflected in such

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[97] *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (Constitution of Ireland), 29 December 1937, Article 41: 2(1-2).

[98] For a discussion of how Irish national identity came to be equated with Catholic religious identity, see Timothy J. White, "The Impact of British Colonialism on Irish Catholicism and National Identity: Repression, Reemergence and Divergence," *Études irlandaises*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (2010), 21-37; Joseph Ruane and David Butler, "Southern Irish Protestants: An Example of De-Ethinicisation," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 13, no. 4 (October 2007), 619-635.

organizations as the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA).[99] According to historian Patrick McDevitt, sports such as hurling as played under GAA rules were seen as having "'civilizing' tendencies" as the rules established demonstrated that Irishmen were "not naturally unruly and that organized team games did not correspond to British superiority."[100] The games delineated discrete spheres for male and female nationalists.

> The ideal Gael is a matchless athlete, sober, pure of mind, speech and deed, self-possessed, self-reliant, self-respecting, loving is religion and his country with a deep restless love, earnest in thought and effective in action.[101]

Thus, Irish sports both motivated and tightened a nationalistic bond that highlighted Irish masculinity. Expressions such as "worked like men" not only entwined masculinity and success, but also equated failure with femininity. Not only the achievement of nationhood, but also the continuing efforts to define what the Irish nation was would emphasize this contrast between masculinity and femininity portrayed by athletes, who would become the new Irish folk heroes. Consequently, as both the English and the Irish attempted to assert personal and national identity against the continued notion of Ireland as female, colonialism and its legacy endorsed and strengthened the signifying use of women in Ireland, their erasure from Irish history, and their silencing.[102]

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[99] The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was founded in 1884. Closely associated with the Celtic Revival, it was seen as a "national wide campaign to resurrect eh physical stature of the manhood of Ireland, which was deemed debilitated because of the combined effects of British rule and the Great Famine." [Patrick F. McDevitt, "Masculinity and Gaelic Team Sports, 1884-1916," *Gender & History*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (August 1997): 262-284, 262.

[100] Ibid., 268.

[101] Gaelic Athletic Association, *Annual – 1907-1908*, cited in John Sugden and Alan Bairner, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 29.

[102] Maurice Riordan, "Eros and History: On Contemporary Irish Poetry," *The Crane Bag* Vol. 9, No 1 (1985): 49-55; Eavan Boland, *A Kind of Scar: The Woman Poet in a National Tradition* (Dublin: Attic Press, 1989).

"… [S]he was as well by sea as by land well more than Mrs. Mate with him."
Sir Henry Sidney, 1577

Conclusion

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ireland was a patchwork of English and Gaelic lordships. Through an evolving process of colonization, English law would be the rule in all Irish territories by the time Elizabeth I died in 1603. However, throughout the 1500s, Ireland remained a contested territory in which competing discourses of gender and identity were layered upon both its multifaceted population and the land itself, as the English attempted to define not only who the Irish were, but who they themselves were. As a complex set of English and Irish cultures clashed, interpretation and re-interpretations of ideas led to both an indeterminacy of social and cultural values as well as the discovery of opportunities for individuals, families, and nations.

Irish colonization was part of the territorial expansion of the new English nation-state as the English sought to define and discover themselves. While the English had had contact with Ireland for centuries prior to the Tudor era, Ireland still embodied the unknown – a trait later associated with the interiors of Africa and Asia. While the descendants of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman invasion would claim "Englishness," these Hiberno-Normans identified with their birthplace as well. Creating a distinct cultural and political personality, these Hiberno-Normans along with the native Gaelic population would present a challenge to the Tudor attempt to expand English civility. Forced to "reconquer" Ireland, sixteenth-century Englishmen sought to reclaim what was perceived as "lost land." This often-violent process would by the end of the seventeenth century, result in the economic, political, and social domination of Ireland by the English.

Ireland would continue to be peripheral to England's metropole, as the Irish parliament was subordinated by the Westminster Parliament and finally subsumed by it.[103] While Irish Protestants might resent the treatment of the Kingdom of Ireland as a colony, they recognized they were an isolated minority surrounded by a hostile Catholic population. Irish Protestants would be dependent on English military strength from the "mother country" for protection from both foreign invasion and internal rebellion. The lingering animosity towards colonization as well as the resulting tensions from the 1801 incorporation of Ireland into the British nation-state would lead to a bloody conflict that would last well into the twentieth century.

In English eyes, the "virginity" of the Irish land feminized it and justified its occupation. In this feminized and sexualized colonial discourse, Ireland was "the earth ready to be discovered, occupied, entered, and laid claim to."[104] The unease felt towards women's sexuality in the early modern period made the human body central to the articulation of colonialism,

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[103] The Irish Parliament was a legislature founded in 1297, with the main purpose of approving taxes that were then levied by and for the Lordship of Ireland. Its existence would continue until 1800, with the passing of the Acts of the Union. The political union between Ireland and Great Britain was proposed several times before it was finally implemented in 1800. This union faced vehement opposition in Ireland and many Irishmen hoped that the granting of legislative independence in 1782 would end this discussion. However, strained political relations between the two governing bodies aggravated by the 1798 Rebellion brought the issue to the forefront at the close of the eighteenth century. While the "mass of the people of Ireland do not care one farthing about the Union," British leaders including William Pitt would support the idea. (Lord Cornwallis, 1798, cited in John Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 104.) Reacting to the events of 1798, many Protestants would support the demise of the Irish Parliament. The promise of Catholic Emancipation would bring support from the Catholic middle classes and Catholic hierarchy. However, the Irish Protestants so vehemently fought the inclusion of Catholic Emancipation in the Union proposal that it would be dropped. After an initial failure to pass the Union proposal, another round of persuasion and propaganda took place and on 1 January 1801, the Acts of Union came into force. [Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan, *Acts of Union: The Causes, Contexts, and Consequences of the Act of Union* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001).]

[104] Jyoti Puri, *Encountering Nationalism* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 134. This statement was originally written to apply to virgin land in a discussion of gendered colonialisms and nationalisms, but it applies to Ireland well.

causing women's bodies to be the site where imperial power could be imagined and exercised. Yet, throughout sixteenth-century Europe, women participated in the male-dominated intellectual culture. Through their voices and actions, women asserted their right to speak and through speaking, they defined themselves.[105] Consequently, as race and gender converged on Irish women's bodies, they came to be regarded as representing a disconcerting threat. Irish women were described as drunken, licentious, and rebellious instigators of otherwise docile men. The question that emerges is whether the English were more surprised by the boldness of the Irish women or what they claimed to be the passivity of the Irish men. Ireland became a gendered space in which men were like women and women were like men – thus a lawless and unnatural land in need of English civilizing.

The gendering of both the Irish people and the landscape by the English is understandable in the historical context of colonial efforts to control what would be seen as "an essentially feminine race," which was manifested in cultural representations of Ireland and Irishness.[106] This "chasmic dichotomy" of male and female would become embedded in both the physical and cultural landscape of Ireland in its inhabitants' quest for a national identity of their own making.[107] As Celtic scholar Proinsias Mac Cana has stated, "It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this idea of land and sovereignty conceived in the form of a woman."[108] Similar to other colonized countries, Ireland would be conceived as the feminine Other that was fashioned

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[105] Margaret L. King, "Women's Voices, the Early Modern, and the Civilization of the West," *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 25 (1997), 21.

[106] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 42.

[107] Eavan Boland, "The Irish Woman Poet: Her Place in Irish Literature," in Chris Morash (ed.), *Creativity and Contexts* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1995), 31-47.

[108] Proinsias Mac Cana, "Women in Irish Mythology," *The Crane Bag*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (1980): 7-11, 7.

– "assembled and given shape by men."[109] This envisioning would allow England to better realize itself. The memories, myths, and histories of the colonial experience in Ireland would merge with, contest, and modify the already existing English narrative of identity. This process transformed Ireland into "the weaker sex," in need of control from Britain, presented as strong, resolute man. Since the Celtic people were regarded, due to this feminized nature, as being impractical as well as emotionally and mentally instable, these predispositions were felt to them unfit to govern themselves and Ireland became a territory in need of possessing.[110] Yet, it was the initial English desire for possession that had feminized the Irish people.

The ideas of sovereignty shaped by land and envisioned in form of a woman became an image appropriated by both colonizer and colonized in Ireland. As Antonio Gramsci famously asserted, subalterns' attempts to "influence 'dominant political formations'" persuaded them to develop strategies of resistance as well as helping the dominant group "define and refine" its own methods.[111] The transformation of femininity from its place within colonial discourse as an attribute implying subordination into a reimagined and powerful ideal required nationalists to draw upon traditional Irish histories. While subjects who "in rebelling and claiming

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[109] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: OpusBooks/Oxford University Press, 1995), 72; Lorna Stevens, Stephen Brown, and Pauline Maclaran, "Gender, Nationality, and Cultural Representations of Ireland: An Irish Woman's Place?" *The European Journal of Women's Studies,* Vol. 7 (2000): 405–421.

[110] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988). Additionally, modern scholars have explored this idea of the paradox of masculinity/femininity that imbues Irish nationalism. See Lorna Stevens, Stephen Brown, and Pauline Maclaran, "Gender, Nationality, and Cultural Representations of Ireland: An Irish Woman's Place?" *The European Journal of Women's Studies,* Vol. 7 (2000): 405–421.

[111] Antonio Gramsci, "Notes on Italian History," in Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds. and trans.), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1971), 44-120, 52.

independence and sovereignty, aspire[d] to a traditionally masculine role of power," the Irish would, by the nineteenth century, create an icon of feminine resistance from the figure of Gráinne Ní Mháille which would symbolize Ireland's strengths.[112] Irish nationalists challenged negative connotations that sought to define the native Irish as subordinate by defining them as feminine. Through oppositional notions based on early Irish writings, the idea of a feminine Ireland would shed its negative light. A feminized colony did not represent a lack of culture for the colonized, but rather "represent[ed] sensitivity, brilliance and turbulence sprung from an excess" thereof.[113] This idea then transposed Ireland from being uncivilized to exhibiting civility. According to poet Eavan Boland, "Irish women….became part of a corrupt transaction between nationalism and literature which feminized the national and nationalized the feminine."[114] The use of female images allowed the Irish to directly reproach the English for their actions in evicting the native Irish from their land. The ideas of sovereignty shaped by land and envisioned in form of a woman became an image appropriated by both colonizer and colonized in Ireland.

Ultimately, the brutality and length of the British encounter with Ireland would be transferred to and replicated in other British colonies. The policy of plantations that transformed

[112] Geraldine Meaney, "Sex and Nation: Women in Irish Culture and Politics," in Carol Coulter, Clodagh Corcoran and Eavan Boland (eds.), *A Dozen Lips* (Dublin: Attic Press, 1994), 191.

[113] Lorna Stevens et al., "Gender, Nationality, and Cultural Representations of Ireland," 411. See also Marjorie Howes, *Yeats's Nations: Gender, Class, and Irishness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Robert Welch (ed.), *W. B. Yeats: Writings on Irish Folklore, Legend, and Myth* (London: Penguin, 1993).

[114] Eavan Boland, "The Irish Woman Poet: Her Place in Irish Literature," in Chris Morash (ed.), *Creativity and Contexts* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1995), 7. Boland saw the transaction as "corrupt" because it prescribed the role of women as both silent and passive.

Ulster created a model for English colonies in America.[115] Men such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert gained valuable experience as colonial proprietors in Ireland and would go on to pioneer English colonization in North America.[116] While Raleigh's 1584 colonization of the "Colony and Dominion of Virginia" would end in failure, England would eventually establish overseas colonies throughout the New World. Moreover, by 1588, it was obvious that English colonial policy was transforming Ireland – both socially and culturally. When survivors of the Spanish Armada came ashore after their ships were wrecked on the Irish coast, these enemies of the English were almost everywhere treated as enemies by the Irish.[117] As England's first colony, Ireland would serve as the template for what English colonization would mean and how it would be employed in her future colonies.

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[115] For further discussion about the links between Irish and New World colonialism, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (eds.), *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1991); Karl S. Bottigheimer, "Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise, 1536-1660," in Kenneth R. Andrews, Nicholas P. Canny, Paul Edward Hedley Hair, and David B. Quinn (eds.), *Westward Enterprise : English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480–1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978); Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Origins of Empire, British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Kathleen Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[116] Raleigh Trevelyan, *Sir Walter Raleigh: Being a True and Vivid Account of the Life and Times of the Explorer, Soldier, Scholar, Poet, and Courtier - The Controversial Hero of the Elizabethian Age* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2014); Willard M. Wallace, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); David Beers Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprise of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940).

[117] See Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London: Constable, 1996); T.P. Kilfeather, *Ireland: Graveyard of the Spanish Armada* (Minneapolis: Irish Books and Media, 1979); Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada: Revised Edition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Recognizing that the discourse on colonialism has been and continues to be contested, many scholars have often focused on the binaries of metropole/periphery as well as self /Other.[118] Through the construction of the Irish "Other," the English sought to suppress Irish culture and to efface Irish history. This process of "Othering" both engaged and mediated the articulation of the relationship between gender, power, and identity. Connoting a "dizzying multiplicity of personalities," the gendered discourses of colonialism and post-colonialism shaped Irish identity.[119] Post-colonial theorists have studied the discourse on the nature of and the impact of colonialism on both the colonized and colonizer. Questioning how identity is defined in juxtaposition to the Other, theorist Stuart Hall asks "…who speaks and the subject who is spoken of are never identical, never exactly in the same place…"[120]

Irish folklore and literature provide historians with an opportunity not only to answer some of these questions, but also to allow silenced or ignored voices to emerge. Cultural traditions such as the stories that were sung demonstrate how people made sense of their past – how they connected individual experience with a larger social meaning. People were able to utilize the past as a way to interpret the world currently around them. Poetry, songs, and stories are a way to study origins, precursors, and sources of influences within cultures. As a social arena of communication and interaction, these sources encompass the people and sites used in

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[118] See Anne McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term Post-Colonialism," in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 291-304; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1978).

[119] Catherine Hall, "Histories, Empires and the Post-Colonial Moment," in Ian Chambers and Lidia Curtis (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (London: Routledge, 1996).

[120] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 392-403.

the production, consumption, and use of these genres. By "invok[ing] the oral tradition and prepar[ing] the reader to enter the poetic dramatizations," the dramatic reenactment of such processes as colonization, transculturation, and cultural mediation can be understood.[121] The ability of these sources to often retain an audience over a wide span of time means they can act as permanent reminders of complicated questions that were relevant to the period when the song was composed.

Folklore often helps to make sense of events that are unfolding within a society. Frequently acting as a rallying point for individuals and organizations to join a common cause, it aids in keeping people motivated to continue a particular struggle. However, meanings can also evolve to encompass the current period and thus can demonstrate how the past becomes closely linked with the present. These sources challenge the "politics of dispossession," allowing those who have been silenced to be heard. The importance of stories is that they represent the "transmission of culture upon which our survival as a people depends. When our stories die, so will we."[122] Folkloric tradition illuminates the essential connections between language, history, and contemporary identity.

While many folkloric sources "draw from historical tradition, they do so in the present – and to serve contemporary purposes and needs."[123] Underneath the layers of representation is a living event. Folkloric traditions such as the recalling of Gráinne Ní Mháille are able to present

[121] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999), 10.

[122] Ibid., 35.

[123] Tara Browner, *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-Wow* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 2.

"provocative insights" into past cultural exchanges.[124] By giving voice to a memory that has shaped a people, poems and stories continue to be "valuable to [the] community and to [their] sense of identity."[125] While new characters or ideas may be incorporated and older ones may lose their centrality, the level of consistency between present productions and earlier ones demonstrates the complexity of the historical issues at stake. The repetition of songs, poems, and plays creates a "close, empathetic, communicable identification."[126] The use of songs and such allow for the "process of healing, articulating, subverting, reinventing this relationship with the cultural Other."[127] As historians continue to study "areas where cultures clash, meet, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power," multiple voices may be developed allowing for the decentering of the historical discourse.[128]

The language and the stories describing Ireland's transitional landscape allow for a better understanding of Ireland as the connecting narrative shapes its sense of place. While Gráinne Ní Mháille's name is not frequently mentioned in any of the contemporary Irish poetry, nor was it mentioned by the earlier annalists of Ireland, scholars know that she is more than a legend; her name and deeds were recorded by the English Crown itself and its emerging bureaucracy that was seeking to tame the land. Connected to places and traditions all over western Ireland, Gráinne Ní Mháille lived on through the folklore that still dwells in the landscape of Connaught.

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[124] Sandra L. Dahlberg, "'Los Comanches' at Alcalde: Two Centuries of Tradition," in Werner Sellers (ed.), *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Languages of American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 81.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., 83.

[127] Coco Fusco, *English is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas* (New York: New Press, 1995), 148.

[128] Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," in David Bartholomew and Anthony Petrosky (eds.), *Ways of Reading* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1996), 528.

She would become one of the symbols of the resistance to English attempts to assert its control over Ireland.

For more than forty years, many of Gráinne's actions on both land and sea frustrated English bureaucrats as they attempted to subjugate and dominate Ireland. Her memory continues to "cling to the castles she built... [just as] her undying presence still haunts its shores and islands."[129] Now well into the twenty-first century, Gráinne's memory still lives on throughout Ireland. While guidebooks trace her footsteps, a slew of novels have sprung up commemorating her legacy. No matter the times or the audiences, Gráinne remains an enduring figure, as she is re-imagined and re-invented over and over. As Ireland struggles with its economy and role within world politics, Gráinne's legend continues to inspire song and story. One Irish nationalist claimed that Gráinne was "no unworthy representative of what Ireland once was, and still might be, if she could once more launch her vessels on the main."[130] Today, she is draped in the green mantle of patriotism foretelling a better future for Ireland. As a poet once claimed:

> The waters murmur of her name,
> The woods are peopled with her fame;
> The silent abbey, lone and grey,
> Claims kindred with her sacred clay;
> Her spirit wraps the dusky mountain,
> Her memory sparkles o'er the fountain,
> The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Rolls mingling with her fame for ever.[131]

Through lasting folklore, Gráinne Ní Mháille's body became incorporated with the land and its people, her spirit breathed into national song.

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[129] Cited in John Healy, *Irish Essays: Literary and Historical* (Dublin**:** Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1908), 125.

[130] Ibid., 124.

[131] Ibid., 125.

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Appendix

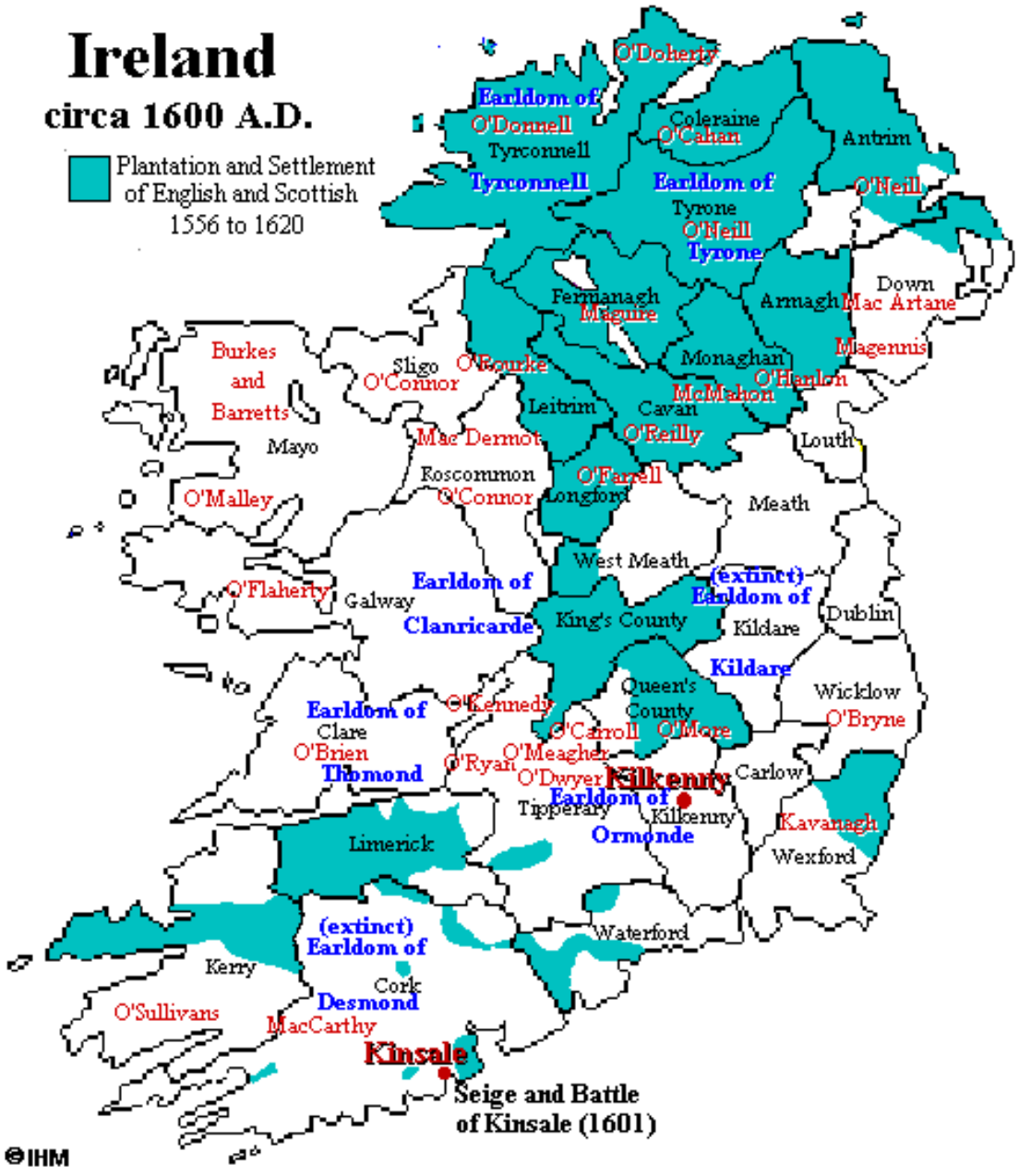
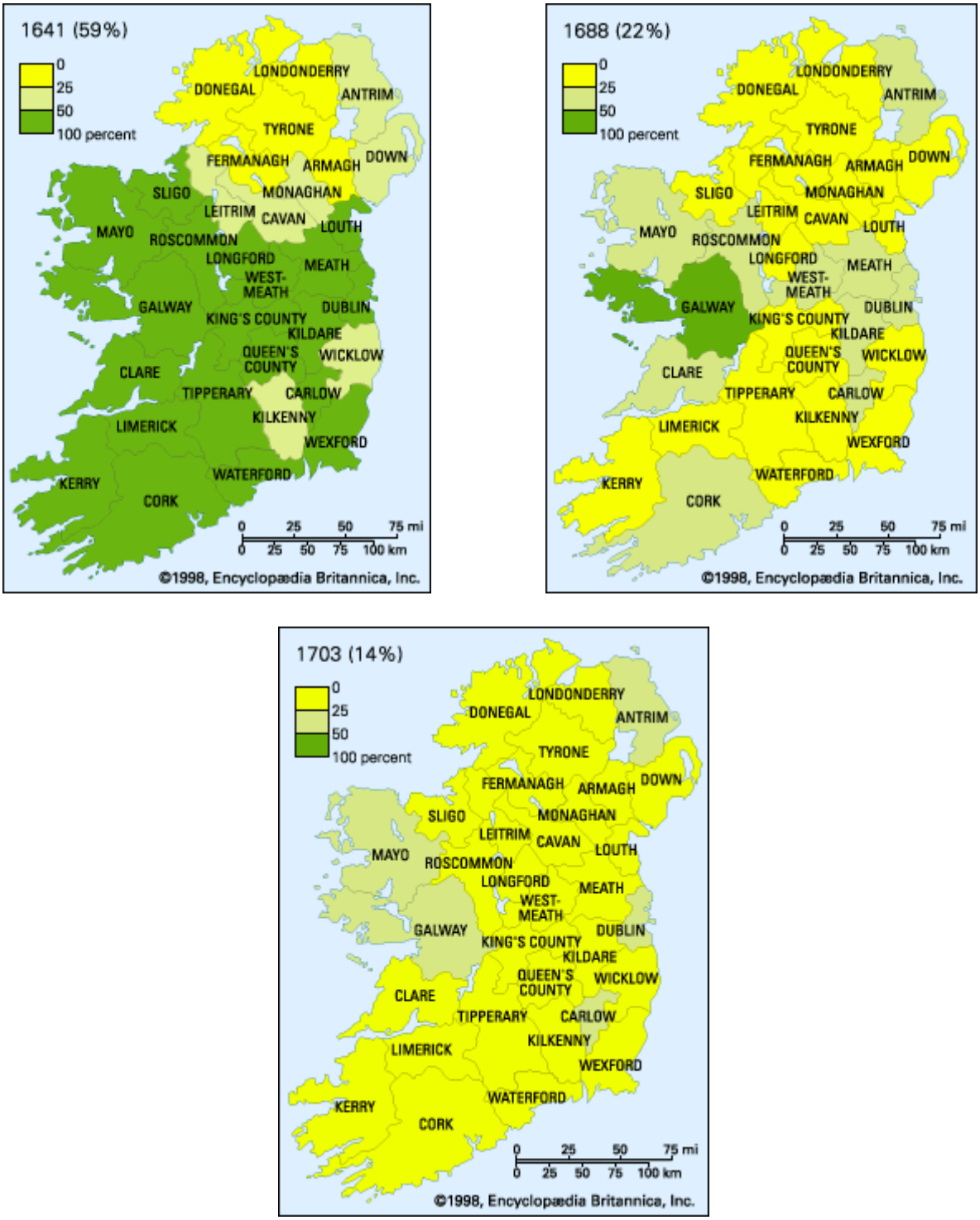


Figure 5: Ireland, circa 1600[1]

[1] http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlkik/ihm/ire1600.html.

Figure 6: The percentage of land, by county, owned by Roman Catholics in 1641, 1688, and 1703. The average percentage for all of Ireland is indicated after the year identifying each map.[2]



[2] Cited in http://www.ballintemple.com/history/history%20eb.html.

THE LAMENT OF GRANU WAIL

John Bull was a bodach, as rich a Jew,
As griping, as grinding, as conscienceless, too;
A wheedler, a shuffler, a rogue by wholesale
And a swindler, moreover, says Granu Wail!

John Bull was a banker, both pursy and fat,
With gold in his pockets, and plenty of that;
And he tempted his neighbors to sell their entail;
'Tis by scheming he prospers, says Granu Wail!

John Bull was a farmer, with cottiers galore –
Stout chawbacons once that like bullocks could roar;
Hard work and low wages, and Peel's sliding scale,
Have bothered their courage, says Granu Wail!

John Bull was a Bruiser, so sturdy and s'out,
A boisterous bully – at bottom a clout –
For when you squared up he was apt to turn tail –
Brother Jonathan lashed him, says Granu Wail!

John Bull was a merchant, and many his ships,
His harbors, his dock-yards, and his big building slips;
And the ocean he claimed as his rightful entail –
Monsieur Parley-vous bars that, says Granu Wail!

John Bull had dependencies, many and great –
Fine, fertile, and fat – every one an estate;
But he pilfered and plundered wholesale and retail –
There's Canada signs on it, says Granu Wail!

John Bull was a saint in the western clime,
Stood fast for the truths of the Gospel sublime,
Vowed no other faith in the end could avail –
Isn't' the Jugghernaut champion? Says Granu Wail!

John Bull had a sister, so fair to be seen,
With a blush like a rose, and a mantle green.
And a soft, swelling bosom! On hill or in dale,
Oh! Where could you follow, sweet Granu Wail!

And John loved his sister, without e'er a flaw,
Like the fox and the pullet, the wolf and the lamb;
So he paid her a visit – but make her bewail;
My title deeds vanished! Says Granu Wail!

Then he rummaged her commerce and ravaged her plains,
Razed her churches and castles – her children in chains;
With pitch-caps, triangles, and gibbets wholesale,
Betoken John's love to poor Granu Wail!

But one of her children more bould than the rest,
Took it into his head for to make a request!
Our rights, Uncle John! Else our flag on the gale!
Faix, he got an instalment, says Granu Wail!

And now he is at the Ould Grown again,
With his logic and law and three millions of men!
And nothing will plaise him, just now, but repale,
"Mo senst or anani astig tu," says Granu Wail!

[From Manus O'Conor (ed.), *Irish Come-all-ye's: A Repository of Ancient Irish Songs and Ballads, comprising Patriotic, Descriptive, Historical and Humorous Gems, Characteristic of the Irish Race* (New York: L. Lipkind, 1901), 133.]

POOR OLD GRANUAILE

All through the north as I walked forth for to view the shamrock plain
I stood awhile where Nature smiles amid the rocks and streams
On a matron mild I cast my eyes beneath a fertile vale
And the song she sang as she walked on was, My poor old Granuaile

Her head was bare and her grey hair over her eyes hung down
Her neck and waist, her hands and feet with iron chains were bound
Her pensive strain and plaintive wail mingled with the evening gale
And the song she sang with mournful tongue was, My poor old Granuaile

The gown she wore was bathed with gore all by a ruffian band
Her lips so sweet that monarchs kissed are now grown pale and wan
The tears of grief fell from her eyes, each tear as large as hail
None could express the deep distress of my poor old Granuaile

Six hundred years the briny tears have flowed down from my eyes
I curse the day that Henry made of me proud Albion's prize
From that day down with chains I'm bound, no wonder I look pale
The blood they've drained from every vein of poor old Granuaile

On her harp she leaned and thus exclaimed, My royal Brian is gone
Who in his day did drive away the tyrants every one
On Clontarf's plain against the Danes his faction did prepare
Brave Brian Boru cut their lines in two and freed old Granuaile

With blood besmeared and bathed in tears, her harp she sweetly strung
And o'er the air her mournful tune from one last chord she wrung
Her voice so clear fell on my ear, at length my strength did fail
I went away and this did say, God help you, Granuaile

[From Shane MacGowan, *Across the Broad Atlantic* (London: Eagle Records, 2002).]

GRANA WEAL

O thou that art sprung from the flow'r of the land
Whose virtues endear and whose talents command
When our foemen are banished how then wilt thou feel
That the king of the right should espouse Grana Weal

O er the high hills of Erin what bonfires shall blaze
What libations be poured forth what festival days
While minstrels and monks with one heart pulse of zeal
Sing and pray for the king and his own Grana Weal

The monarch of millions is riding the sea
His revenge cannot sleep and his guards will not flee
No cloud shall the pride of our nobles conceal
When the foes are dispersed that benight Grana Weal

The mighty in thousands are pouring from Spain
The Scots the true Scots shall come back again
To far distant exile no more shall they steal
But waft the right king to his fond Grana Weal

Raise your hearts and exult my beloved at my words
Your eyes to your king and your hands to your swords
The Highlands shall send forth the bonnetted Gael
To grace the glad nuptials of Grana Weal

And Louis and Charles and the heaven guided
Pope And the king of the Spaniards shall strengthen our hope
One religion one kindred one soul shall they feel
For our heart enthroned exile and Grana Weal

With weeping and wailing and sorrow and shame
And anguish of heart that no pity dare claim
The craven English churls shall all powerless kneel
To the home restored Stuart and Gratia Weal

Our halls will rejoice with friendship and cheer

And our hearts be as free from reproach as from fear
The hungry adventurer shall pine for the meal
He long lapped from the life stream of Gratia Weal

Ah knowst thou the maiden all beauteous and fair
Whom her merciless foes have left plundered and bare
The force of my emblem too well canst thou feel
For that suffering lone one is our Gratia Weal

But our nobles shall bring back the true king again
And justice long slighted will come in his train
The bullets shall fly and the cannons shall peal
And our Charles victorious espouse Gratia Weal

[From James Hardiman, "Irish Minstrelsy; or Bardic Remains of Ireland," *The Monthly Review*, September to December, 1832: 69-84, 83.]

GRANUWEAL – AN OLD SONG

A courtier call'd Dorset, from Parkgate did fail,
In his Majesty's yacht, for to court Granuweal;
With great entertainment the thought to prevail,
And rifle the charms of Granuweal.

Chorus:
Sing Budderoo, didderoo, Granuweal
The Fox in the Trap we have caught by the tail
Sing success to the sons of brave Granuweal.

Says the courtier to Granu, if you will be true,
I will bring you to London, and do for you too;
Where you shall have pleasure that never will fail,
I'll laurel your Shamrock, sweet Granuweal.

Chorus

Says Granu to Dorset, if that I would do,
Bring my fortune to London, my children would rue;
We would be like Highlanders eating of keal,
And cursing the union, says Granuweal.

Chorus

Says Granu, I always was true to my king;
When in war, I supply'd him with money and men.
Our love to King George with our blood we did seal,

At Dettingen battle, says Granuweal.

Chorus

Says Granu, I always still lov'd to be free;
No foe shall invade me in my liberty.
While I've Limerick, Derry and the fort of Kinsale,
I'll love and not marry, says Granuweal.

Chorus

Says Granu, you see there's a large stone put in,
To the heart of the church, by the leave of the King.
The works of this stone shall be weigh'd in a scale,
With balance of justice, says Granuweal.

Chorus

I hope our brave Harrington, likewise Kildare,
Our trade and our commerce once more will repair,
Our lives we will venture with greatest affail,
Against French and Spaniards, says Granuweal.

Chorus

Now, my dear boys, we've got shut of those bugs,
I charge you my children, lie close in your rugs,
They'll hide like a snake, but will bite I'll be bail,
I'll give them shillelagh, says Granuweal.

[From James J. Gaskin, *Irish Varieties: Or, Sketches of History and Character from Ancient and Modern Sources and Original Documents* (Dublin: Patrick Traynor, 1878), 32-33]

C. THE LIBERATOR
THE DEEDS OF O'CONNELL

One night as old Granua reclined to rest,
And Dame Nature in her soft couch slumbered,
The moon beams from heaven shone forth from the west,
And the sky had bright starts without number,
I laid myself down for to rest without fear,
When an angelic vision to me did appear,
And thus spoke heroic saying 'son lend an ear,
To your father's advice, brave O'Connell!'

I then started frantic the vision drew near,
And began his advice then as follows –
Saying ‘remember what you’ve undertaken this year,
As Erin for liberty hallows,
The hall it shall flourish the time’s yet to come,
And your voice reach across George’s channel,
Be advise by your father my ever dear son,
And remember the deeds of O’Connell.’

‘O remember the year so glorious’ he cried,
‘When I emancipated poor Erin,
In Kingstown I was taken and soon after tried,
But no sting of a toad was I fearing
In the four-courts of Dublin I was’ent put down,
The world rejoined while each serpent frown’d,
When the schemes they invented were flung to the ground,,
O remember brave Daniel O’Connell.’

‘When the writ of terror to the house entered in,
The law lords they seemed much confounded,
It was called a delusion a mockery and snare,
So Denman and Campbell expounded;
Then justice her trumpet did sound her loud call,
It shook the foundation of Harolds cross wall,
Then the Martyr’s from prison stepped one and all,
Oh, remember the deeds of O’Connell.’

‘Its to Mullaghmas and Tara I led Erin’s sons,
And from that to the famed country Longford,
All Ireland was pledged for freedom to a man,
From Dingle along down to Strangford.
From Galway to Limerick and the sweet country Clare,
Thro’ Wicklow and the Curragh of Kildare,
I freed Erin from bondage and many a snare,
And my name it is Daniel O’Connell.’

Now my mind being embarrassed by base slumbering thought,
As the moons silvery rays shone around me,
Says he ‘Son remember the villainous plot,
When the packed jury thought to confound me
For seeking the rights of old Erin the Green
And breaking the fetters bound her in disdain,
I defended her cause till their effort were in vain,
Oh remember the deeds of O’Connell.’

‘I remembers’, says Granua, in the year ‘98

When my sons were both hung and transported
How many fine men were it not for brave Dan
Would like slaves from this land be exported
And at the conspiracy of Doneraile
He stood up like Hector with vigour and zeal.
He put down usurpers and made them to quail
Did the famous brave Daniel O'Connell,

'His name will be revered all over the land
In the ancient pages of history shown
For blessed Father Maguire did nobly stand
When Magarigan against him had sworn.
Your clergy he freed them from bigotry's clue
When in the ditches they preached the gospel to you,
Their foes he confounded and did them subdue
Now, remember the deeds of O'Connell.'

Granua awoke from her slumber overwhelmed with joy,
As what passed seemed her most endearing,
The dark sable of night had pass'd from the sky,
And Sol's bright golden rays were appearing
For the wrongs of this country always I'll stand
As my son brave Daniel so before done,
And Erin will shine like the beams of the sun
As foretold in the dream of O'Connell.

[From James N. Healy (ed.), *The Mercier Book of Old Irish Street Ballads, Volume Two: History and Politics* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1969), 75-76.]

ERIN'S GREEN SHORE

One evening of late as I rambled
On the banks of a clear purling stream
I sat down on a bed of primroses
And I gently fell into a dream
I dreamed I beheld a fair female
Her equal I had ne'er seen before
As she sighed for the wrongs of her country
As she strayed along Erin's green shore.

I went to her and quickly addressed her
Fair maid, will you tell me your name?
And why through this wild wooded country
In the midst of these dangers you came?
I'm a daughter of Daniel O'Connell
And from England I have lately come o'er

I have come to awaken my brethren
Who slumber on Erin's green shore.

Her eyes were like two sparkling diamonds
Or the stars of a bright frosty night
Her cheeks were like two blooming roses
And her teeth of the ivory so white
She resembled the Goddess of Freedom
And green was the mantle she wore
Bound `round with the shamrock and roses
As she strayed along Erin's green shore.

In transports of joy I awoke then
And found I had been in a dream
For this beautiful damsel had fled me
And I longed for to slumber again
May the heavens above be her guardian
For I know I shall see her no more
May the sunbeams of glory shine o'er her
As she strays along Erin's green shore.

[Mick Moloney, "Erin's Green Shore," *Far From the Shamrock Shore* (New York: Shanachie Enterntainment, 2005), audio.]

ÓRÓ SÉ DO BHEATHA ABHAILE

Jacobite version

A a mhic,
'Sé mo mhór-chreach do thriall as Éirinn,
Gan aon ruainne bróig' ort, stocaí nó léine,
Acht 'do chascairt leis na Franncaighibh.

Young Charles, son of King James
It's my great distress – your exile from Ireland
Without thread of shoe on you, socks or shirt
But fighting alongside the Frenchmen.

Chorus:
Óró, sé do bheatha abhaile,
Óró, sé do bheatha abhaile,
Óró, sé do bheatha abhaile,
Anois ag teacht an tSamhraidh !

Chorus:
Oh-ro, You're welcome home,
Oh-ro, You're welcome home,
Oh-ro, You're welcome home,
Now that summer's coming!

Sé mo léan géar nach bhfeicim,
Mur' mbéinn beó 'na dhiaidh ach seachtmhain,
Séarlas Óg is míle gaiscidheach
Ag coscairt leis na Franncaighibh.

Alas that I do not see
If I were alive afterwards only for a week
Young Charles and one thousand warriors
Fighting with the Frenchmen

Chorus
Tá Séarlas óg ag triall thar sáile,
Béidh siad leis-sean cúpla gárda,

Chorus
Young Charles is coming over the sea
They'll be with him as a guard

Béidh siad leis-sean Franncaigh is Spáinnigh,
Agus bainfidh siad rinnc' as Éir'cighibh.

Chorus

They'll be with him, French and Spanish
And they'll make the heretics dance!

Chorus

[From Énrí Muirġeasa, "Óró sé do bheatha abhaile," *Céad de Ċeoltaiḃ Ulaḋ* (Baile Áṫa Cliaṫ, Dublin: M. H. Mac Giolla agus a Ṁac, 1915), 151, 303.]

Patrick Pearse version

'S é do bheatha, a bhean ba léannmhar
Dob' é ár gcreach do bheith i ngébheann,
Do dhúthaigh bhreá i seilbh méirleach,
'S tú díolta leis na Gallaibh.

Chorus:
Óró,'s é do bheatha abhaile,
Óró,'s é do bheatha abhaile,
Óró,'s é do bheatha abhaile,
Anois ar theacht an tsamhraidh,

A bhuí le Dia na bhfeart go bhfeiceam,
Muna mbímid beo ina dhiaidh ach seachtain,
Gráinne Mhaol is míle gaiscíoch
Ag fógairt fáin ar Ghallaibh.

Chorus

Tá Gráinne Mhaol ag teacht thar sáile,
Is Fianna Fáil 'na mbuidhin gharda,
Gaeil féin 's ní Francaigh ná Spáinnigh,
Is ruagairt ar na Gallaibh!

Chorus

'Se do bheatha, O woman that wast sorrowful,
What grieved us was thy being in chains,
Thy beautiful country in the possession of rogues,
And thou sold to the Galls,

Chorus:
Oró, 'se do bheatha a bhaile,
Oró, 'se do bheatha a bhaile,
Oró, 'se do bheatha a bhaile,
Now at summer's coming!

Thanks to the God of miracles that we see,
Altho' we live not a week thereafter,
Gráinne Mhaol and a thousand heroes
Proclaiming the scattering of the Galls !

Chorus

Gráinne Mhaol is coming from over the sea,
The Fenians of Fál as a guard about her,
Gaels they, and neither French nor Spaniard,
And a rout upon the Galls !

Chorus

[Pádraic H. Pearse, "Óró sé do bheatha abhaile," *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts* (Cork: University College, 1998, 2010).]

Modern version

'Sé do bheatha, a bhean ba léanmhar
do bé ár gcreach tú bheith i ngéibhinn
do dhúiche bhreá i seilbh meirleach
is tú díolta leis na Gallaibh.

Chorus:
Óró, sé do bheatha abhaile
óró, sé do bheatha abhaile

Hail to you sorrowful woman
it was our woe that you were in captivity
your fine country in the possession of thieves
while you were sold to the foreigners.

Chorus:
Hurrah, welcome home
Hurrah, welcome home

óró, sé do bheatha abhaile
anois ar theacht an tsamhraidh.

Tá Gráinne Mhaol ag teacht thar sáile
óglaigh armtha léi mar gharda,
Gaeil iad féin is ní Gaill ná Spáinnigh
is cuirfidh siad ruaig ar Ghallaibh.

Chorus
A bhuí le Rí na bhFeart go bhfeiceam
muna mbeam beo ina dhiaidh ach seachtain
Gráinne Mhaol agus míle gaiscíoch
ag fógairt fáin ar Ghallaibh.

Chorus

Hurrah, welcome home
now at the coming of Summer.

Gráinne Mhaol is coming over the sea
armed warriors as her guard
they are Gaels, not foreigners or Spaniards
and they will put the foreigners to flight.

Chorus
Thanks to the King of Miracles that we might see
although we might not live but a week after
Gráinne Mhaol and a thousand heroes
declaring the scattering of the foreigners.

Chorus

[From Seán Óg Ó Baoill and Mánus Ó Baoill, "Óró sé do bheatha abhaile," *Ceolta Gael* (Baile Átha Cliath, Dublin: Cló Mercier, 1975), 74.]

MEETING OF GRACE O'MALLEY AND QUEEN ELIZABETH

There stands a tower by the Atlantic side—
A grey old tower, by storm and sea-waves beat —
Perch'd on a cliff beneath it, yawneth wide
A lofty cavern — of yore a fit retreat
For pirates' galleys; altho', now, you'll meet
Nought but the seal and wild gull; from that cave
A hundred steps do upwards lead your feet Unto a lonely chamber! —
Bold and brave Is he who climbs that stair, all slippery from the wave.

I sat there on an evening.
In the west, Amid the waters, sank the setting sun:
While clouds, like parting friends, about him prest,
Clad in their fleecy garbs, of gold and dun;
And silence was around me —
save the hum Of the lone wild bee, or the curlew's cry.
And lo t upon me did a vision come,
Of her who built that tower, in days gone by;
And in that dream, behold I saw a building high.

The hangings velvet, from Genoa's woof,
And wrought with Tudor roses curiously;
At its far end did stand a canopy,
Shading a chair of state, on which was seen

A ladye fair, whose look of majesty.
Amid a throng, ‘yclad in costly sheen —
Nobles and gallant knights proclaim her England’s Queen.
The sage Elizabeth; and by her side

Were gronp’d her counsellors, with calm, grave air,
Burleigh and Walsingham, with others, tried
In wisdom and in war, and sparkling there,
Like Summer butterflies, were damsels fair,
Beautiful and young: behind, a trusty band
Of stalwart yeomanry, with watchful care,
The portal guard, while nigher to it stand
Usher and page, ready to ape with willing hand.

A Tucket sounds, and lo ! there enters now
A stranger group, in saffron tunics drest:
A female at their head, whose step and brow
Herald her rank, and, calm and self possest,
Onward she came, alone, through England’s best,
With careless look, and bearing free, yet high,
Tho’ gentle dames their titterings scarce represt,
Noting her garments as she passed them by;
None laughed again who met that stern and flashing eye.

Restless and dark, its sharp and rapid look
Show’d a fierce spirit, prone a wrong to feel,
And quicker to revenge it. As a look,
That sun-burnt brow did fearless thoughts reveal
And in her girdle was a skeyne of steel;
Her crimson mantle, a gold brooch did bind;
Her flowing garments reached unto her heel;
Her hair — part fell in tresses uncontined,
And part, a silver bodkin did fasten up behind.

‘Twas not her garb that caught the gazer’s eye —
Tho’ strange, ‘twas rich, and, after its fashion, good —
But the wild grandeur of her mien— erect and high.
Before the English Queen she dauntless stood,
And none her bearing there could scorn as rude;
She seemed as one well used to power —
one that hath Dominion over man of savage mood,
And dared the tempest in its midnight wrath,
And thro’ opposing billows cleft her fearless path.

And courteous greeting Elizabeth then pays,
And bids her welcome to her English land

And humble hall. Each looked with curious gaze
Upon the other's face, and felt they stand
Before a Spirit like their own.
Her hand The stranger raised— and pointing where all pale,
Thro' the high casement, came the sunlight bland,
Gilding the Scene and group with rich avail;
Thus, to tho English Sov'reign, spoke proud "Grana Wale;"

" Queen of the Saxons! from the distant west I come;
from Achill steep and Island Clare,
Where the wild eagle builds 'mid clouds, his nest,
And Ocean fling its billows in the air.
I come to greet you in your dwelling fair.
Led by your fame — lone sitting in my cave.
In sea- beat Doona — it hath reached me there,
Theme of the minstrel's song; and then I gare
My galley to the wind, and crossed the dark green wave."

Health to thee, ladye! — let your answer be
Health to our Irish land ; for evil men
Do vex her sorely, and have bucklar'd thee
Abettor of their deeds; lyeing train,
That cheat their mistress for the love of gain,
And wrong their trust — aught else I little reck,
Alike to me, the mountain and the glen —
The castle's rampart or the galley's deck;
But thou my country spare — your foot is on her neck."

Thus brief and bold, outspake that ladye stern,
And all stood silent thro' that crowded hall;
While proudly glared each proud and manly kern
Attendant on their mistress.
Then courtly all Elizabeth replies, and soothing fall
Her words, and pleasing to the Irish ear —
Fair promises — that slie would soon recall
Her evil servants. Were these words sincere!
That promise kept? Let Erin answer with a tear!

[From John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees, Or, The Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, Volume II (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., Limited, 1892), 675.]

POOR OLD GRANUAILE

All through the north as I walked forth for to view the shamrock plain
I stood awhile where Nature smiles amid the rocks and streams
On a matron mild I cast my eyes beneath a fertile vale

And the song she sang as she walked on was, My poor old Granuaile.

Her head was bare and her grey hair over her eyes hung down
Her neck and waist, her hands and feet with iron chains were bound
Her pensive strain and plaintive wail mingled with the evening gale
And the song she sang with mournful tongue was, My poor old Granuaile.

The gown she wore was bathed with gore all by a ruffian band
Her lips so sweet that monarchs kissed are now grown pale and wan
The tears of grief fell from her eyes, each tear as large as hail
None could express the deep distress of my poor old Granuaile.

Six hundred years the briny tears have flowed down from my eyes
I curse the day that Henry made of me proud Albion's prize
From that day down with chains I'm bound, no wonder I look pale
The blood they've drained from every vein of poor old Granuaile.

On her harp she leaned and thus exclaimed, My royal Brian is gone
Who in his day did drive away the tyrants every one
On Clontarf's plain against the Danes his faction did prepare
Brave Brian Boru cut their lines in two and freed old Granuaile.

With blood besmeared and bathed in tears, her harp she sweetly strung
And o'er the air her mournful tune from one last chord she wrung
Her voice so clear fell on my ear, at length my strength did fail
I went away and this did say, God help you, Granuaile.

[From Colm O'Loughlainn, *Irish Street Ballads Collected and Annotated* (Dublin: Constable & Company, 1939),189]

THE BLACKBIRD OF SWEET AVONDALE

By the sweet bay of Dublin while carelessly strolling,
I sat myself down by a green myrtle shade,
Reclined on the beach where the wild waves were rolling,
In sorrow condoling I spied a fair maid.

Her robes changed to mourning that once shone so glorious,
I stood in amazement to hear her sad tale.
Her heartstrings burst forth in wild accents deploring,
Saying, "Where is my Blackbird of sweet Avondale?"

To the fair counties Meath, Kerry, Cork and Tipperary,
The rights of his country my Blackbird did sing.
But woe to the hour with heart light and airy,
When he from my arums to Dublin did wing.

The fowlers waylaid him in hopes to ensnare him,
While I here in sorrow his absence bewail.
Sure it grieves me to think that the walls of Kilmainham
Surround my poor Blackbird of sweet Avondale.

The cold prison cell has no habitation
For one from his country who fought loyal and true.
Then give him his freedom without hesitation,
For remember he fought hard for Ireland and you.

The linnet and thrush in sadness may wonder,
For it grieves me at once just to hear their sad tone,
For the thoughts of my Blackbird near drive me to madness
To think I must sit here in silence alone.

The birds of the forest for me have no charums,
Not even a voice from the sweet nightingale.
Her notes or the charming fills my heart with alarum
Since I lost my poor Blackbird of sweet Avondale.

Oh Erin, my country, awake from your slumbers
And bring back my Blackbird so dear unto me.
Let everyone know by the strength of their number
That Ireland a nation and soon shall be free.

Oh heaven give ear to my fond supplication
And strengthen the bold sons of old Granuaile,
And grant that my country will soon be a nation,
And bring back my Blackbird of sweet Avondale.

[From Nora Butler, Tomevara, Ireland, 11 May 1969. Recorded by D. K. and Ebby Wilgus (UCLA T7-69-24) in Dungarvin, Co. Waterford cited in D. K. Wilgus, "The Aisling and the Cowboy: Some Unnoticed Influences of Irish Vision Poetry on Anglo-American Balladry," *Western Folklore*, Vol. 44, no. 4 (Oct., 1985): 255-300, 262.]