

2011

“Honest as the Devil:” English Rhetoric and Representations of Catholicism in Ireland during the Reformation

Allie Werner

University of Puget Sound, awerner@pugetsound.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/summer_research



Part of the [European History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Werner, Allie, "“Honest as the Devil:” English Rhetoric and Representations of Catholicism in Ireland during the Reformation" (2011). *Summer Research*. Paper 77.

http://soundideas.pugetsound.edu/summer_research/77

This Presentation is brought to you for free and open access by Sound Ideas. It has been accepted for inclusion in Summer Research by an authorized administrator of Sound Ideas. For more information, please contact soundideas@pugetsound.edu.

“Honest as the Devil:” English Rhetoric and Representations of Catholicism in Ireland
during the Reformation

Allie Werner

Summer Research

August 22, 2011

In 1578, John Derricke, a companion of Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney, recorded the actions and demeanors of the Irish that Sidney's forces encountered during his campaigns in Ireland. This description of an Irish feast suggests how Englishmen of Derricke's generation saw the native people – as simple and uncivilized:

These [Irishmen] attend upon the fire for serving up the feast./And Friar Smellfeast sneaking in, doth preace among the best;/Who play'th in Romish toys and ape by counterfeiting Paul,/For which they do award him then the highest room of all.¹

By 1609, the English adventurer Barnabe Rich, who had a similar background to Derricke, had written this about the native Irish:

[Ireland] hath had continuall entercourse, trade and trafficke, and hath beene daily conuersant with the people of [England and France], and the country should yet remaine as it doth, more vnciuill, more vncleanly, more barbarous, and more brutish in their customes and demeanures, then in any part of the world that is knowne... [An Englishman] that were at Dublyne it selfe, and should see a dead corps brought to the graue, would say, that there could not bee a more heathenish demeanure, no, not amongst a people that had neither knowne nor heard of God.²

How is it that the rhetoric describing the Irish went from being relatively benign to malicious in little over thirty years? These passages mark two very different attitudes that circulated during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Derricke represents the attitude of acceptance towards the Catholic faith, if not agreement with it, whereas Rich represents the view that while the Irish knew God in some form, they blindly followed “popery.” The changes that occurred from the late 1570s through the 1610s in the rhetoric of English authors concerning the Irish may be traced in tracts as well as other documents published during these decades. Most of the negative rhetoric typical of this time emerged from tracts that were written with the goal of educating the

¹ John Derricke, “The Image of Ireland, with a Discovery of Woodkern,” in *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, ed. James P. Meyers, Jr. (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 41. In sixteenth-century usage, “Preace” means to press or crowd, and “highest room,” means place of honor.

² Barnabe Rich, *A Short survey of Ireland* (London, 1609), *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, 2. Henceforth the following will denote all sources from the Early English Books Online database: *EEBO*.

English public about the Irish condition. However, even documents without such a clear purpose borrowed the rhetoric of the tracts, giving the impression that the Irish were inferior Christians, or even “heathens.” To understand why the English wrote about the Irish in this way, one must understand both the English and the Irish context.

English attempts to conquer and colonize Ireland began in the twelfth century and slowly continued through to the Tudor period. In the mid-sixteenth century, the colonization of Ireland was reinvigorated and control was seized from local strongmen and centralized in Dublin and the Pale.³ The most successful Elizabethan viceroy to gain control over Ireland was Sir Henry Sidney, who brought many regions of Ireland under his jurisdiction in the 1560s and 1570s.⁴ Powerful Irishmen, like Shane O’Neill and his kinsman the earl of Tyrone, Hugh O’Neill, resisted violently but Queen Elizabeth I was relentless in her attempts to bring the Irish into submission. Official royal proclamations from the sixteenth century are filled with the rhetoric of rebellion showing that the crown was most interested in pacifying the rebels and making honest and obedient citizens out of them. The crown also wanted to illuminate Irish Catholicism through the proclamations by linking Irish religion to political disobedience, essentially making Catholicism treason, a topic considered later in this essay.⁵ The plantations – tracts of Irish land settled, or “planted,” by English and Scottish families hoping to tame and bring civilization to Ireland – became popular and successful in the late sixteenth century. By the end of Queen Elizabeth I’s reign much of Ireland was subdued.

³ David Edwards, “The escalation of violence in sixteenth-century Ireland” in *Age of Atrocity: Violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland*, edited by David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan & Clodagh Tait (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 63. This movement also applied to English families who had immigrated to Ireland as early as the twelfth century and whom the crown believed had become too Irish and too powerful.

⁴ Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 364.

⁵ Queen Elizabeth I, *By the Queene* (London, 1578), *EEBO*; Queen Elizabeth I, *By the Queene* (London, 1581), *EEBO*; Queen Elizabeth I, *By the Queene* (London, 1599), *EEBO*.

These colonial exploits coincided with the Protestant Reformation. The Reformation was first introduced to Ireland with limited success during the reign of Henry VIII. However, the progress that he made was slowly undone by his successors, Edward VI (r. 1547-1553) and Mary Tudor (r. 1553-1558). When the fiercely Protestant Queen Elizabeth I came to the throne, she instigated aggressive reform attempts to convert the Irish, but instead of increasing conversions, her new assertive tactics only intensified the existing tensions between the English and the Irish that were brewing in response to English colonial endeavors.⁶ Some historians have argued that the combination of colonization, the expansion of the Tudor political system into native power structures and aggressive attempts to convert the Irish resulted in rebellion by the indigenous population and the ultimate survival of Irish Catholicism.⁷ As this essay will show, the attempts at colonization and the failure of the Irish to convert strongly shaped the negative views that circulated about the Irish in England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

This essay focuses on the language used by English writers in their descriptions of the Irish indigenous population, their Catholicism and the decline and ultimate failure of the Reformation in Ireland.⁸ There are dozens of documents written from the late 1570s

⁶ Samantha A. Meigs, *The Reformations in Ireland: Traditionalism and Confessionalism, 1400-1690* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997), 70.

⁷ Karl S. Bottigheimer and Ute Lotz-Heumann, "The Irish Reformation in European Perspective," *Archive for Reformation History* 89 (1998): 268.

⁸ The historiography of the Reformation in Ireland has seen a resurgence in recent years, following a relatively stagnant period in the late 1980s and 1990s. Religiously charged arguments dominated the field from the seventeenth century. The pinnacle of these arguments was R.D. Edwards' book, *Church and state in Tudor Ireland*, published in 1935, which was summarized and analyzed very well in James Murray, "Historical Revisit: R. Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (1935)," *Irish Historical Studies* 30, no. 118 (1996): 233-241. In the 1960s and 1970s, Brendan Bradshaw and Nicholas Canny began to debate when the Reformation officially ended, with Bradshaw arguing that Protestantism had a chance to succeed until the reign of Mary Tudor, when the Counter-Reformation took hold and Protestantism eventually failed. Canny disagreed with this argument. He claimed that it was not until the 1590s that the Irish began to oppose the Reformation with purpose. In the mid to late twentieth century,

to the early 1600s that cover this topic and the “Irish Problem;” I have chosen ones that I believe best demonstrate the variety of English attitudes concerning Irish Catholicism. The documents discussed in this essay date from 1578 to 1610 – from twenty years into Queen Elizabeth I’s reign until seven years after her death. Most of the documents are tracts, written to present a solution to a problem that Ireland presented, or to illuminate Irish manners and customs for an English reading public.⁹ The remaining documents are letters and prayers that touch upon events in Ireland, but do not focus solely on its native people. Both types of documents were printed, widely available, read by literate Englishmen and presumably influenced public opinion regarding Ireland. In the late 1570s, the rhetoric of English authors concerning Irish Catholicism was a combination between relatively benign language and scathingly negative, depending on the document. By the end of the 1610s, English authors came to a compromise of grudging acceptance towards Catholicism, but still attempted to convert the native population.

Paying close attention to language, this essay examines terminology and rhetorical strategies used by English authors to express their questions and problems with

historians rejected earlier religious explanations and cited secular reasons for the failure of the Reformation, an approach exemplified by Steven G. Ellis, “Economic Problems of the Church: Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41, no. 2 (April 1990): 239-265.

Traditionally the failure has been seen as a political issue, however, within the past fifteen years, a new cause for the failure of Protestantism has emerged: some historians have argued that the endurance of Catholicism had more to do with the society and culture of the indigenous population than with the government in the Pale. The first book-length study of the cultural reasons for the failure of the Reformation was Samantha A. Meigs’ *The Reformations in Ireland: Tradition and Confessionalism, 1400-1690* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997). The historiography on the Reformation in Ireland has begun to cycle back to subjects that were popular in the early twentieth century while maintaining the advances in methodology that have recently developed. Historians are becoming more focused on the Old English and the native Irish than on the New English who controlled the government. They are questioning the conclusions made by the historians who pioneered the field, reexamining old evidence, looking at non-traditional evidence, and coming to new conclusions concerning the survival of Catholicism and the failure of the Protestant Reformation.

⁹ Tracts are an interesting genre of document because not only were they written to present a solution to a problem, but they were written by opinionated people who had a serious problem with the way that something was being handled and had their own solution. These documents are reflections of opinions that were extreme in their day. They are public documents that were circulated widely, so it is fair to assume that many people read these documents and were influenced by their arguments.

the Irish population's attachment to Catholicism.¹⁰ Therefore, it is necessary to define a couple of key terms at the outset that will resurface in this essay. In the sixteenth century, "rebellion" did not solely mean a revolt against a political entity or the crown, but was also interpreted as "a forsaking or falling away fro ones owne religion, captaine, allegiance, or purpose."¹¹ Rebellion was thus automatically associated with religious dissent in Elizabethan England. The term "barbarian" in the sixteenth century was used to label "a rude person," and implied that one was a foreigner, much as it had in ancient times.¹² This meant that just calling the Irish barbarians was not necessarily calling them uncivilized, the term concerns their behavior and manners more than their culture. In the sixteenth century, "idle" meant lazy, but the religious connotations of the word – which will be discussed below – were more important than its literal meaning. The early modern definitions of these terms are important to know in order to understand the message that authors were trying to convey and to reconstruct original readers response to this rhetoric. Another important concept to understand is the uniqueness of Irish Catholicism.

Before the Counter-Reformation in the early seventeenth century, Irish Catholicism was unlike traditional Catholicism in the rest of Europe; even Spanish Jesuits did not recognize it when they first came to Ireland in the late sixteenth century.¹³ The religion had been isolated for so long that regional traditions and deviations integrated into it and Irish practices became unrecognizable as Catholicism to outsiders. This means

¹⁰ A note about quotations: all quotations are lifted from their original sources exactly as they were initially written, with the exception of special characters and instances where the original meaning would be unclear. If the quotation has already been edited for standardization, I have quoted it as it appears in the edited version at my disposal.

¹¹ *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, s.v. "rebellion," <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/> (accessed August 15, 2011).

¹² "barbarian, n. and adj.", in OED Online (Oxford University Press, June 2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/15380?redirectedFrom=barbarian> (accessed August 17, 2011).

¹³ Nicholas P Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1976), 123.

that although it was technically Catholicism, it was different enough that it seemed strange and even savage to English Protestants who were already predisposed to distrust all Catholics. The Reformation, in combination with the ongoing colonial endeavors of the English, created a unique situation in Ireland in which the indigenous population connected the political and religious infringement that they were experiencing and acted against the English. The way that they wrote about the Irish during this period reflects this singular situation and illuminates their biases and thoughts about native Irish culture, especially their unrecognizable religion.

Representations of Irish Christianity in Tracts

Over the course of thirty-two years, from 1578 to 1610, the ways in which the English conceptualized Irish Catholicism and the religiosity of the native population changed several times. Before Queen Elizabeth I's death in 1603 there was no consensus on the Irish, so two different camps emerged: one acknowledged Irish Catholicism and one refused to recognize that the Irish had any religion at all. After 1603, a compromise was reached; English authors began to look at Irish religion as popery, sin, and superstition, but still acknowledged that it existed and was important to the Irish. Ultimately, this view became the most popular among English writers. I will refer to these three steps of evolution as stage one, two, and three, even though the first two overlap chronologically. The first stage is characterized by the most benign rhetoric and is exemplified by John Derricke.

In 1578, Derricke – about whom very little is known other than the fact that he was a soldier and fought for the English – wrote *The Image of Ireland, with a Discovery*

of *Woodkern*, which is a series of woodcuts accompanied by descriptions of each scene and the Irish people more generally.¹⁴ The narrative of the piece is the defeat of the natives in battle, their repentance of all sins and their transformation into faithful subjects of Queen Elizabeth I. When Derricke describes the Irish at the beginning, he calls them “...honest as the devil;/ as honest as the Pope himself.../And constant like the wavering wind.”¹⁵ Despite these and other remarks about their character being inconsistent, cunning and even barbaric, he does acknowledge their deep Catholicism and piety. In a woodcut entitled “The MacSweeny at Dinner,” (figure 1) a friar is shown gesturing to the local chief and being seated at the place of honor by his side, demonstrating that although Derricke did not condone the Irish religion, he knew how important religion was to the Irish.¹⁶ The next image (figure 2) shows the preparation and beginning of the battle between the English and Irish and the friar is depicted absolving the chief of “all his former sin.”¹⁷ While being absolved, the chief’s gestures and expression show humility and reverence for the friar and the religion he represents. Although Catholicism itself is not portrayed in a positive light, the Irish devotion to it is both clear and accepted.

Like Derricke, Edmund Spenser acknowledges the importance of Irish religion in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, written in 1596.¹⁸ Spenser was an English

¹⁴ Of the authors that I cover, the least is known about John Derricke. All that is known is that he was a follower of Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland. He was most likely either English or born and raised in the Pale because he has pro-English biases. He is writing to glorify the actions of Sidney and therefore, although the Irish are seen as uncivilized and inferior to the English, they are also shown to be admirable foes, brave in battle and merciless (which also adds to their barbarism).

¹⁵ Derricke, “Image of Ireland,” 39.

¹⁶ Derricke, “Image of Ireland,” 41.

¹⁷ Derricke, “Image of Ireland,” 42.

¹⁸ Edmund Spenser was a famous author and poet in Elizabethan England; his most famous work was *The Faerie Queene*, an allegory for Queen Elizabeth I’s reign. He went to Ireland in 1580 to campaign against the native Irish and was awarded land for his service. *View* was not published until the mid-seventeenth century because of its radical suggestions that the Irish people could not be subdued until their language and culture were eradicated. Spenser was extremely pro-English and had negative things to say about the Irish.

gentleman and writer, who served in the army in Ireland and spent a short time with Queen Elizabeth I at her court. Like most of the authors mentioned in this essay, his involvement in Ireland was a military one and the land that he owned in Ireland came from his military exploits. *A View* is a dialogue between Eudox and Irenius about the “Irish Problem” and its possible solutions – some of which are quite inflammatory. Irenius presents Eudox with three areas in which the problems, or “evils,” of Ireland lie: “the first in the laws, the second in customs, and last in religion.”¹⁹ It is clear from these categories that Spenser did not sympathize with Catholics. He believed that the Irish would be better off if they were Protestants and suggested that Ireland would only be subdued if the language and culture of its people were eradicated; whether or not he was implying a total genocide of the Irish native people has been debated.²⁰ However, in his section on religion, amidst slander of priests, he does admit that Catholicism was a legitimate religion before the Reformation and that although the Irish are still attached to it, they may be converted under the right circumstances. In this key passage Spenser writes that the first Catholic missionaries had brought the Irish from “paganism to the true belief in Christ,” showing that the Irish hold sincere beliefs, although they need to be updated and rectified. Both Derricke and Spenser acknowledged Irish Catholicism and its importance to the indigenous population despite being unsupportive of it.

The second rhetorical stage – the assertion that the Irish have no religion at all – is best exhibited by a section of *The Chronicle of Ireland* by Raphael Holinshed, Richard Stanyhurst, and John Hooker called “The supply of this Irish chronicle, continued from

¹⁹ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. W. L. Renwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 3.

²⁰ “Edmund Spenser (1552-1599),” *Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature*, <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/spensbio.htm> (accessed August 16, 2011).

the death of King Henry VIII until this present year 1586,” which was written in the second edition by Hooker, an English politician in Ireland.²¹ Contrasting with Spenser and Derrick, he writes, “God is not known in their land, neither is His Name called rightly upon among them.”²² What is interesting about this quotation is that Hooker first writes that the Irish have no religion, which in itself shows his sentiments towards Irish Catholicism. However, in the second part of the quotation, he writes that even those who may know God do not worship Him correctly. “Rightly” at the end of the sixteenth century not only meant correctly and with good cause, but also “according to nature.”²³ The use of this word implied that the Irish were going against nature by not being Protestants; they were an unnatural people and complete “other.” Another passage from this document continues with this same theme of barbaric otherness in its discussion of Catholicism: Hooker writes, “...the more [the Irish] are under their [native] government, the less dutiful to their natural Sovereign and Prince.”²⁴ If one resisted the crown, one was not a Protestant and since the Irish resisted English “natural” rule, they were a “savage people” and deemed unchristian.²⁵ By using rhetoric that cast the Irish as

²¹ John Hooker was born in Exeter, England and went to Ireland as a legal advisor to Sir Peter Carew in 1568. For a couple of years he was a member of both the English and Irish Parliaments, and later wrote a treatise on parliamentary procedure. He exhibits anti-Irish biases commonplace for that time period, although his language is more intense than most other writers.

²² John Hooker, “The Chronicle of Ireland,” in *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, ed. James P. Meyers, Jr. (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 57.

²³ *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, s.v. “rightly,” <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/> (accessed August 15, 2011).

²⁴ Hooker, “The Chronicle of Ireland,” 58.

²⁵ This concept will be discussed in depth later in this essay; see page 16, note 43. Along the lines of the Irish being unnatural, there were debates going on at this time in the New World about whether the native people there fit the mold of the Aristotelian “natural slave.” This idea could have been attributed to Ireland as well, since it was also a colonial holding. The idea of a natural slave was that people who were not civilized and were barbarians were naturally slaves to civilized men because they lacked reason to think for themselves. The rhetoric describing the Irish as unnatural would probably have conjured up visions of them as natural slaves to Englishmen. (Lisa Kaaren Bailey, Lindsey Digglemann, and Kim M. Phillips, eds, *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European cultural encounters, c.1000-c.1750* [Turnhout, Belgium: Brepouls, 2009], 101)

unnatural, Hooker was able to support his claim that the Irish had no religion by using language that the reading public understood.

The compromise that was reached between acknowledging Irish religion, like Derricke and Spenser, and denying any religiosity whatsoever, like Hooker, is exemplified by documents that were written in the early seventeenth century by Fynes Moryson and Barnabe Rich. Moryson, an Englishman, wrote the Irish section of his opus, *An Itinerary* – a narrative of his travels and encounters throughout Europe – sometime between 1603 and 1606.²⁶ Within a sub-section entitled “The Manners and Customs of Ireland,” he writes that the Irish are “naturally given to religion,” which not only demonstrates that Moryson thought that they did believe in God, and could potentially be converted, but also reminiscent of Hooker’s discussion of the “unnatural” Irish.²⁷ However, despite acknowledging their religious disposition, Moryson continues that over time the Irish have grown “superstitious and ignorant,” and that their clergy are considered “generally illiterate.”²⁸ Moryson also writes that “swarms of Romish priests tyrannising over [the Irish people’s] consciences” are a plague on the land of Ireland.²⁹ In the sixteenth-century context, “tyranny” was associated almost exclusively with political rulers and illegitimate sovereigns; however, by the beginning of the seventeenth

²⁶ Fynes Moryson was an Englishman who wrote about his travels throughout Europe in *An Itinerary* and went to Ireland for a couple of years at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He has generic biases against the native Irish, however he has some interesting biases against the Old English (people whose families moved to Ireland in the initial conquest of Ireland). He writes that despite claiming to be the upholders of civilization in Ireland, they are barbaric as well although it was not their fault that they became barbaric, since they were surrounded by the Irish and had to adapt to their environment. He was biased against the Irish in many of the same ways that other authors were, but he did praise their intellect and musicality.

²⁷ Fynes Moryson, *The Manners and Customs of Ireland*, ed. and trans. by Charles Hughes. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*, <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100073/index.html> (Accessed June 15, 2011), 316.

²⁸ Moryson, *Manners and Customs*, 317.

²⁹ Moryson, *Manners and Customs*, 312.

century, it began to be associated with religion and the “tyranny of sin.”³⁰ The use of tyranny not only reflects the merger of church and state in the Tudor era, but also shows that Moryson wanted to convey the extent to which the Irish were under the Pope’s power, both politically and religiously. According to Moryson, the Irish were not to blame for their false religion and superstitions, it was the Pope’s tyranny and that of his clerical representatives that led them astray. This view was not held exclusively by Moryson.

Rich, an Englishman who spent most of his life in Ireland and was a prolific writer and politician, wrote two documents concerning Ireland at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century – *A Short Svrvey of Ireland* in 1609, and *A New Description of Ireland, together with the manners, customs, and dispositions of the people* in 1610.³¹ In both of these tracts, Rich openly discusses Irish Catholicism; he calls the people superstitious, idolaters and even pagans, but like Moryson, he never denies their allegiance to the Pope and his Christianity.³² “Superstitious” in the early seventeenth century meant “one giuen to false and vaine religion;” the connotation of

³⁰ *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, s.v. “tyranny,” <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/> (accessed August 15, 2011); “tyranny, n.,” at OED Online (Oxford University Press, June 2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/208424?redirectedFrom=tyrany> (accessed August 16, 2011).

³¹ Barnabe Rich was an Englishman who went to Ireland in 1573 and stayed until his death in 1617. He is the most prolific Elizabethan writer on Ireland, writing tracts, poems and pamphlets in order to supplement his government pension. He has been described as a hack because of the repetitiveness of his documents; in each he describes the Irish as barbaric, uncivilized and religiously inferior. His biases against the native Irish influenced the opinion of many Englishman since his documents were so readily available.

³² In the early seventeenth-century context, “idolatry” meant worship before images, a practice associated strongly with Catholics. By using this term, Rich is solidifying the bond between the Irish and Catholicism (*Lexicons of Early Modern English*, s.v. “idolatry,” <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/> [accessed August 15, 2011].) At the time that these documents were written “pagan” meant a person who did not conform to the majority religion or a non-Christian. It is not at all surprising that Rich would use this term to describe the Irish Catholics (“pagan, n. and adj.,” at OED Online (Oxford University Press, June 2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/135980?redirectedFrom=pagan> (accessed August 16, 2011).)

false belief is consistent with the contemporary English rhetoric of Irish Catholicism.³³ In the first chapter of *A Short Svrvey*, Rich describes the character of the Irish and writes that they have “blinde zeale,” are barbaric and a “mortall plague of rebellion.”³⁴ He proceeds to spend the next twenty-three chapters discussing how to identify the Antichrist, how to protect oneself from him and ultimately reveals that the Pope *is* the Antichrist. The final chapter is entitled “A friendly admonition to the Irish, to beware of these Ministers of Antichrist, that have so blinded their understanding, and abused their Zeale.”³⁵ In this chapter, Rich attempts to reach out to the Irish and guide them to the righteous path. He has no doubt that they believe in the Pope’s teachings or in God. He is of the mind that they have simply been lead astray by the devil in disguise who “blinded [their] vnderstanding, abused [their] zeale, and led [them] into ignorance vnder A counterfeit pretence of holinesse,” and must be saved.³⁶ Like other English writers at this time, Rich conceded that the Irish did have authentic religious beliefs but were merely ignorant of the true Christian path.

In *A New Description*, Rich once again shows that the Irish are not forsaken by God, they are just ignorant of His true power. In one passage, on the conditions of their diet and customs he writes, “But according to the proverb, ‘God sends meat, and the Devil sends cooks’: so it pleaseth God to send them plenty of milk, but as they behave themselves in the using of it, it is fit for nobody but for themselves that are of the uncleanly diet.”³⁷ Rich makes it clear that God has not given up on the Irish, but in their

³³ *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, s.v. “superstitious,” <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/> (accessed August 15, 2011).

³⁴ Rich, *Short Svrvey*, 2-3.

³⁵ Rich, *Short Svrvey*, 52.

³⁶ Rich, *Short Svrvey*, 54.

³⁷ Barnabe Rich, “A New Description of Ireland, Together with the Manners, Customs, and Dispositions of the People (1610),” in *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers*

ignorance they do not use His gifts correctly. Rich's documents show English notions of superiority and are good examples of the third stage – the middle ground between the first two stages – showing an evolution in the ways that English writers approached Irish religiosity by the early seventeenth century.

These changes in rhetoric happened in roughly chronological order though there is overlap between the first and second stages. They occurred in part because colonization in Ireland was increasingly resisted by the indigenous population towards the end of the sixteenth century. The English came to see the Irish as having no religion as opposed to seeing Irish Catholicism as legitimate, if misguided, as they had in times of lesser rebellion. The first two stages overlap chronologically because in the 1570s to 1590s there was no consensus on how to think or respond to the Irish Problem or how to civilize the country, so there was no single way to react to the perceived foreignness of their religion. The third stage emerged as a result of the Nine Years War, also known as Tyrone's Rebellion, which lasted from 1594 to 1603 and completely decimated the native population.³⁸ Queen Elizabeth I's successor, King James I took a different approach to colonizing Ireland and transplanted many English and Scottish families to "plant" and civilize Ireland, reinvigorating the plantations that Queen Elizabeth I began. The rhetoric that is seen in the third stage, in which the Irish are taken advantage of by the Pope and kept ignorant of true Christianity, speaks to the hope of the plantations bringing

on Ireland, ed. James P. Meyers, Jr. (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 137-38. "Uncleanly" not only means unhygienic and filthy, but more importantly means "morally or spiritually impure." Therefore Rich is implying that the Irish are not true Christians because Catholicism is not pure, like Protestantism ("uncleanly, adj.", at OED Online (Oxford University Press, June 2011), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/210423?rkey=oNxACX&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed August 16, 2011).)

³⁸ The Nine Years War was fought by the Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, who led the native population in rebellion against the English state. The result was the death of many Irish, which weakened them to the point where they could no longer resist when their land was confiscated in order to establish plantations.

civilization and Protestantism to the country. The application of this sort of rhetoric to Irish religion is not limited to overt references to their Catholicism, however; English authors used a variety of rhetorical strategies and language to express their opinions on Irish Catholicism.

Other Rhetoric Used in Tracts to Express Irish Catholicism

Authors sometimes expressed the “otherness” and non-Christianity of the Irish without making explicit references to their Catholicism. Rebellion, barbarism, and idleness are three of the most prominent themes utilized to implicitly emphasize the Catholicism of the Irish. It is not surprising that the theme of rebellion was prevalent in tracts of this time period; the Irish were in a near-constant state of rebellion against the English throughout Queen Elizabeth I’s reign. There is variety in the rhetoric of rebellion in tracts; sometimes the Irish are simply referred to as “rebels,” other times they are disloyal or disobedient, but each of these charges implies that they do not accept English authority in government or religion. The rhetoric of rebellion can be found in almost every single English document concerning Ireland from this time period – tracts, letters, prayers, sermons, official proclamations and everything in between. Unlike the rhetoric discussed above, which evolved and changed over time, the rhetoric of rebellion did not evolve; it remained consistent and ubiquitous from 1578 to 1610.

This theme is expressed well in Hooker’s “Supply of this Irish Chronicle” when he writes about a brutal army captain who subdued the Irish for a short time. When the captain left Ireland, the Irish “cast from themselves the obedience and dutifulness of true

subjects” and returned to “their former insolency, rebellion, and disobedience.”³⁹ This rhetoric also appears in Rich’s *New Description* when he writes that the Irish are inclined to rebellion since “he that could bring a thousand followers into the field in an action of rebellion is not able to bring one hundred in the service of his prince.”⁴⁰ Authors like Hooker and Rich used the rhetoric of rebellion to emphasize the extent to which the Irish’s Catholicism was synonymous with rebellion against the Tudor crown. Since the monarch had become head of both the English church and state, subjects only had one allegiance and could not legitimately split their loyalty between their sovereign and the Pope. From the perspective of Irish Catholics, on the other hand, if one rebelled against the crown, one was rebelling against Protestantism as well.⁴¹ As noted above, the theme of rebellion was linked to Christianity in religiously divided sixteenth-century Europe; since the Irish were rebelling, they were certainly not Protestants and therefore not true Christians.

Another theme widely utilized to express the religion of the Irish, is that of barbarism. It can be expressed in many different, often subtle, ways. Authors did not always explicitly say that the Irish were barbarians; they skillfully implied this idea in order to fulfill a particular purpose. For instance, Derricke portrays this concept of barbarism well while discussing Irish character in the description of a woodcut entitled, “Kern [an Irish infantry unit] Pillaging Their Own People on a Bodrag” (figure 3). He writes, “They spoil and burn and bear away, as fit occasions serve,/And think the greater ill they do, the greater praise deserve./They pass not for the poor man’s cry, nor yet

³⁹ Hooker, “The Chronicle of Ireland,” 58.

⁴⁰ Rich, “A New Description,” 141.

⁴¹ Henry A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd., 2010), 217.

respect his tears,/But rather joy to see the fire to flash about his ears.”⁴² Not only is the kern attacking other Irishmen, but they are also unmerciful to the weak and take advantage of their relative strength. These actions combine to make the Irish look barbaric and uncivilized. There are several other examples of similar rhetoric being used by other authors. Hooker writes, “...And here may you see the nature and disposition of the wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and unfaithful nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and perverse generation, constant always in that they be always inconstant, faithful in that they be always unfaithful, and trusty in that they be always treacherous and untrusty.”⁴³ This passage contains themes of barbarism consistent with many contemporary documents. There are myriad examples of this rhetoric – that of barbarism and the Irish as enemies of civilization – but the question remains: why were the English so set on painting a picture of uncivilized Irishmen?

Christianity, again, is the key. According to English logic, barbarians could not be Christians.⁴⁴ By creating this link between barbarism and Catholicism, English authors strengthened the bond between the Irish and “otherness.” The Irish were uncivilized because they were Catholic and needed England’s civilizing influence to rise from their barbarism and to accept a superior religion and way of life. Also, by casting the Irish as ignorant and incapable of reason, authors demonstrated that they were incapable (until enlightened by the English) of participating in the theological debate between Catholicism and Protestantism and could not hope to understand true religion. Since they

⁴² Derricke, “Image of Ireland,” 40.

⁴³ Hooker, “The Chronicle of Ireland,” 57. “Effrenated” means unbridled and violent. Cambrensis was a twelfth-century chronicler who wrote about Ireland and the Norman Conquest in 1169. The “wicked and perverse generation,” is a reference to Matthew 17:17, when Jesus calls out and rebukes unbelievers; readers would have understood the biblical reference.

⁴⁴ The English had a fundamental belief that one could not be Christian and uncivilized at the same time, one was either one or the other (Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland*, 125).

were controlled by the tyranny of the Pope, the Irish were in need of another influence in order to make sure that they could make the correct choice between true and false Christianity, between the Antichrist and true belief. Besides being barbarians, there was also another trait that the Irish possessed that set them apart from the English – idleness.

Although the idleness of the Irish is only explicitly mentioned in Moryson's "Manners and Customs," it is important as an example of a theme being introduced to create a strong connection between the Irish and their savage Catholicism, thereby implying their lack of civilization. Along with the advent of Protestantism in England came the Protestant work ethic: the idea that working hard honored God and wealth was a sign of His favor. Therefore, idleness became a trait opposed to the Protestant faith. Moryson writes that the Irish army was "most slothful, the swordmen holding it infamy to labour..."⁴⁵ Use of the word "sloth" further associates the Irish with sin and everything that was not Protestant since it represents one of the seven deadly sins. The theme of idleness runs throughout the entire document, as is evident in the conclusion where Moryson writes, "To conclude, the idleness of the Irish, and their having no delight in their meats, yielded to the English a plentiful enjoying of [the hunting of game], as well for the sports as the meats."⁴⁶ This statement is telling because it shows that the English are hard working, whereas the Irish are too lazy to hunt the game that Moryson writes is so plentiful in Ireland. All of the themes that have been mentioned thus far do not only appear in tracts, but also in letters, prayers and other non-tracts, showing the influence that authors had on each other, whether or not they wrote within the same genre.

⁴⁵ Moryson, *Manners and Customs*, 316.

⁴⁶ Moryson, *Manners and Customs*, 325.

Representations of Irish Christianity in Non-Tracts

The whole picture of early modern English sentiments towards the Irish cannot be comprehended by looking exclusively at tracts. Since their purpose was to persuade the reader that the Irish were in need of England's civilizing hand in order to become true Christians and civilized people, the language used those authors was much harsher than that used by authors of non-tracts.⁴⁷ The relative mildness of the language used in letters, prayers and other non-tracts is one of the main differences between the two genres. Authors of tracts were much more imaginative and persuasive in their discussions of the Irish, whereas authors of letters and prayers did not use as much unsympathetic language. There is still a clear distinction between English and Irish, but it is not as stark a division as in the tracts. In non-tracts the themes of rebellion and barbarism are present but the intensity of the rhetoric is diminished compared to the tracts and many of the same tenets and overarching themes apply to each genre. In addition, the connection between barbarity and non-Christianity is heavily implied in both genres. There are many non-tracts written in this period, however, I will only look at two letters and one prayer, all written between 1599 and 1602.

When John Norden wrote *A prayer for the prosperovs proceedings and good successe of the Earle of Essex and his companies* in 1599, fifteen years after Hooker wrote "Supply of this Irish Chronicle," he applied the same thematic rhetoric as Hooker

⁴⁷ Non-tracts, for the purposes of this essay, are public documents such as letters, prayers, pamphlets, sermons, etc. that focus on Ireland but not on the indigenous population's barbarity or lack of religion. These documents have a purpose that allows them to either overlook, or only briefly discuss the demeanors of the Irish, unlike tracts, whose purpose it is to inform the English public about the native Irish. Non-tracts tend to be clearer, less exaggerated examples of the opinions of the English about the native Irish, and they are less harsh and more benign in their descriptions of them.

while using more mild language.⁴⁸ Norden is the only author mentioned in this essay who did not actually visit Ireland, despite writing several documents about the country. Throughout the prayer, Norden begs God's help to defeat the Irish, his reasoning being that the English have "in thy name undertaken this worke of reducing that Realme to Christian obedience."⁴⁹ While Norden writes about the English having a relationship with God, he does not mention that the Irish claim to be Christian as well. His opinion that the native Irish lack any religion becomes especially apparent at the end of the prayer when he writes, "...[the English], in more godly zeale studie to serve thee in our callings, and endeuour more effectually to plant thy sacred word in those parts, to the encrease of thy Church, and comfort of all the members of the same."⁵⁰ It is as though the Irish have never heard of God and the English are missionaries, bringing the word of God to heathens. Hooker makes this explicit when he writes, "God is not known in their land" and says that they have no capacity to know Him.⁵¹ The rhetoric used by Norden is less virulent than that used by Hooker in his descriptions of the Irish; he writes about their lack of religion in relation to English piety and not on their own terms. Like the evolution evident in tracts from the second stage to the third, non-tracts make a similar transition.

John Rider, a Protestant bishop in Ireland, wrote a letter – *The coppie of a letter sent from M. Rider, deane of Saint Patricks, concerning the Newes out of Ireland, and of*

⁴⁸ John Norden was another prolific Elizabethan writer. He was an Englishman who probably never went to Ireland despite writing several documents about it. He wrote devotional poems and was a well-known topographer, creating the most famous Tudor-era map of London. Being a religious man, he thought that the Irish had no religion, since they were not Protestant. He was not a reverend, but he wrote this prayer, exemplifying the Protestant idea that any man could have a relationship with God without being a trained reverend.

⁴⁹ John Norden, *A prayer for the prosperovs proceedings and good successe of the Earle of Essex and his companies* (London, 1599), *EEBO*.

⁵⁰ Norden, *A prayer for the prosperovs proceedings*. Use of the word "plant" here is interesting as well, since at this time, the "planting of Ireland" was beginning with plantations and the immigration of English families to Ireland in order to civilize the land.

⁵¹ Hooker, "The Chronicle of Ireland," 57.

the Spaniards landing and present estate there – in which he discusses the arrival of Spanish forces on the Irish coast and the relationship between the native Irish and the Spaniards.⁵² The way that he describes the Irish is similar to Rich and Moryson, in that he writes about their Catholicism and their barbarity, showing that they are not truly Christians. He writes that the Spanish brought to Ireland many priests, friars and “Stewes of Nunnes and whores, for both their recreations, *Secundum usum Ecclesiae Romanae*,” creating a connection between Catholicism, sin and immorality.⁵³ Moryson shares this view of the Catholics’ licentiousness, telling, for example, of an Irish family in which, “[the father] be a bachelor and have disvirgined the mother, for it is no shame to be or to beget a bastard.”⁵⁴ Along with this discussion of sin, Rider writes that despite having a common religion, the Irish remained very suspicious of the Spanish; the Irish did not help them militarily even though the Spanish had anticipated an alliance due to their shared Catholicism and common enemy, the English.⁵⁵ Rider’s letter implies that since the Irish did not ally with the Spanish, they must not have had as much in common as was originally thought. The Spanish were considered civilized and since the Irish were not, they were not seen as Christian as the Spanish. This meant that they could easily be led astray by their suspicions and did not have the reason to ally with the Spanish against the English. Rider saw this as proof of their lack of civilization and Christianity. Questioning

⁵² John Rider was Protestant Bishop in Ireland and was unyielding towards Catholics. More than anti-Irish, he was anti-Catholic; more biased against the Spanish that came to Ireland, than against the native Irish. He may have less of a bias against the Irish because of their unique brand of Catholicism and their ignorance, but he does not really write about their culture as much as their religion.

⁵³ John Rider, *The coppie of a letter sent from M. Rider, deane of Saint Patricks, concerning the Newes out of Ireland, and of the Spaniards landing and present estate there* (London, 1601), EEBO. The Latin means roughly “following the customs of the Roman Church.”

⁵⁴ Moryson, *Manners and Customs*, 319.

⁵⁵ Rider, *The coppie of a letter*.

the Irish's relationship with God was not a subject limited to Rider, it was seen in other non-tracts as well.

Another letter by an English soldier, only known as I.E., represents a very typical view of the Irish.⁵⁶ This document concerns a battle waged between the English and the Irish beneath the walls of a city recently captured by the Spanish. The Irish were ultimately defeated, as I.E. explains, because they relied only on themselves and not on God to assist them in battle: "And thus were they utterly overthrowne, who but the very night before were so braue and confident of their owne good successe, as that they reckoned us already theirs."⁵⁷ I.E. makes a point of giving God all the glory for the English victory, thereby implying that humility, belief in true Protestant Christianity and Queen Elizabeth I's favor with God led directly to their unlikely victory. He suggests that God did not favor people who put their faith in themselves instead of Him and who did not fight in His name.⁵⁸ This idea is also seen in Rich's *New Description of Ireland* when he writes at the end, "let the papists lie and slander how they list, I thank God I am taught by the religion...[and] also pray to God that He would so open their eyes that they may see the right way of their salvation."⁵⁹ Both authors believed that the Irish lacked faith in God; as I.E. wrote, they did not have enough faith in Him to give up their fate and accept that He would protect them if they were humble and faithful.

⁵⁶ Since he is only identified by his initials, what we know about I.E. can only be gleaned from what he writes in the document. He was probably an Englishman or born in the Pale, he was of high rank in the English army and knew a great deal about what was going on in the battle. Unlike Rider, he seems to be more biased against the Irish than the Spanish, both nations sharing disgust for the way that the Irish handled the battle and their barbaric nature.

⁵⁷ I.E., *A Letter from a Souldier*, 10.

⁵⁸ This is perhaps an implicit biblical reference by I.E. to Proverb 3:5, which reads, "Trust in the LORD with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding."

⁵⁹ Rich, "A New Description," 143.

By looking at genres besides tracts, one can put together a more cohesive picture of what the early modern English population actually thought about Irish Catholicism, not just how the most opinionated and persuasive Englishmen perceived the native Irish religion. The tracts are an exaggerated version of how the majority of English perceived the Irish problem and questions of their Catholicism. Rhetoric describing the Irish as non-Protestant barbarians is rarely found in the non-tracts, whereas it is strongly present in the majority of the tracts. The documents whose purpose was not to discuss the manners and customs of the Irish and the barbarity of their religion give a more accurate glimpse into what the average Englishmen thought about Catholicism in Ireland.

Conclusion

English authors who wrote about Ireland in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century used coded language to convey their sentiments about Irish culture and, more importantly, Irish Catholicism. The rhetoric used by authors of tracts portrays the Irish as having no religion, or practicing popery and superstition. It had the specific purpose of creating a wall of mistrust between the English and the Irish. The linking of church and state under Henry VIII had transformed the meaning of many words previously associated only with politics into words related to both politics and religion. This connection created new linguistic opportunities for authors to imply religious difference and the refusal of the Irish to conform to Protestantism – the right religion. These new ways included descriptions of the Irish as rebels, barbarians, and controlled by a tyrannical pope, which were usually all interconnected to create a specific image of Irish Catholicism. In general, the language used by most authors was derisively negative,

and portrayed the Irish as savage, uncivilized, rebellious, and generally inferior to the English.

The change in the rhetoric from questioning how to manage the Irish to coming to grips with their Catholicism occurred as a result of the end of the Nine Years War. The war took a huge toll on the native Irish and their population was severely diminished and weakened by the end of Queen Elizabeth I's reign. Since they were so weak, they were unable to defend themselves against the English who subsequently confiscated their land and used it to found plantations, the most successful of which was located in Ulster, in the north of Ireland. The English had never had a strong holding in Ulster before 1603, but since the Irish were no longer a threat to the English because of their decimated numbers of fighting-age men, they were able easily overpower them and create a strong Protestant presence there, which still thrives today.⁶⁰ The third stage of rhetoric reflects the hope that the English had of civilizing Ireland, since its native population was no longer a viable danger to its English and Scottish plantations.

After describing the Irish in especially harsh language – for example, “sluttish and uncleanly” – Rich writes, “I hope there is no man that will accuse me of partiality.”⁶¹ Despite his concerns, the negative language used by Rich and authors like him was not out of place in literature about Ireland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although most people may have had less callous views of the Irish, they would have been familiar with and presumably influenced by the language used by Rich, Hooker and others. Letters, prayers, sermons, and other non-tracts show, by comparison,

⁶⁰ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 205-6.

⁶¹ Rich, “A New Description,” 137, 143. “Sluttish” in this context means “Filthie, greasie, bawdie, begreased, nastie, durtie, slouenlie, . . . full of vncleanenesse, full of ordure.” By calling the Irish “sluttish” Rich was reinforcing the idea of them as uncivilized and inferior to the English (*Lexicon of Early Modern English*.) See above (page 12, note 37) for a definition of “uncleanly”.

the intensity of the tracts' rhetoric and that despite the large numbers printed, the views that they circulated about Ireland are not necessarily an accurate representation of the average Englishman's opinion about the country.

Since there are so many relevant documents that have not been studied, there are many additional questions that could be answered by mining them. Did the compromise remain in place throughout the rest of the seventeenth century when Ireland became more integrated into the United Kingdom? Reading more tracts that were written after 1610 could help paint a picture of how rhetoric progressed from the views prevalent at the beginning of the century. By reading more non-tracts, one could start to better understand what the public's opinion about Ireland was and which solutions to the Irish Problem they favored. The wealth of sources that have yet to be fully sifted through could contribute to what we already understand about the Irish Reformation and perhaps change the conclusions that have been made by historians over the years.

Understanding the ways that English authors wrote can help paint a better picture of the motivations that led to many actions that the English took in order to secure control in Ireland. Additionally, the language of English authors reflects the hyper-aware religious culture of the Reformation as well as the new alliance between the Tudor church and state, which influenced the way both were seen and reacted to by the English and Irish populations. This Reformation mentality fluctuated throughout Queen Elizabeth I's reign and resulted in periods of great persecution of Catholics, which may explain the differences in rhetoric seen over time. The religious culture of the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century is one that produced the kind of rhetoric seen in the tracts and non-tracts discussed above.

Appendix

Figure 1: The MacSweeney at Dinner, engraving from *The Image of Ireland*, published in *Elizabethan Ireland*, 41.



Figure 2: The Blessing of MacSweeney; His Defeat by the English, engraving from *The Image of Ireland*, published in *Elizabethan Ireland*, 42.



Figure 3: Kern Pillaging Their Own People on a Bodrag, engraving from *The Image of Ireland*, published in *Elizabethan Ireland*, 40.



Bibliography

Primary Sources

A.M. *The true reporte of the prosperous successe which God gaue vnto our English souldiours against the forraine bands of our Romaine enemies*. London 1581. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).

Anderson, Anthony. *A Godlie Sermon, Preached on Newe yeeres day last*. London, 1576. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).

Annals of Loch Cé. Edited and translated by William M Hennessy. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*. Available at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100010B/index.html>. (Accessed June 24, 2011).

Annals of the Four Masters. Edited and translated by John O'Donovan. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*. Available at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005E/index.html> (1561-1588) and <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005F/index.html> (1589-1604). (Accessed June 15, 2011).

Beacon, Richard, Clare Carroll , and Vincent Carey. *Solon his follie, or, A politique discourse touching the reformation of common-weales conquered, declined or corrupted*. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996.

Beare, Phillip O'Sullivan. *Chapters Towards a history of Ireland in the Reign of Elizabeth*. Edited and translated by Matthew J. Byrne. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*. Available at <http://www/ucc/ie/celt/published/T100060/index/html> (Accessed June 15, 2011).

Boazio, Baptista. *Ireland*. London, 1600. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).

Bryskett, Lodowick and Giambattista Cinzio Giraldi, mod. editor. *A discourse of civill life*. Northridge, CA: San Fernando Valley State College, 1970.

Church of England. *A prayer for the good successe of her Maiesties forces in Ireland*. London, 1599. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011)

Davies, Sir John. "A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued, nor Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England, until the Beginning of his Majesty's Happy Reign." In *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, edited by James P. Meyers, Jr., 146-184. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.

- Derricke, John. "The Image of Ireland, with a Discovery of Woodkern." In *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, edited by James P. Meyers, Jr., 38-47. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.
- Hooker, John. "The Chronicle of Ireland (1586)." In *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, edited by James P. Meyers, Jr., 48-59. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.
- Laughton, John Knox. *State papers relating to the defeat of the spanish armada, anno 1588*. London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1894.
- Moryson, Fynes. *The Commonwealth of Ireland*. Edited and translated by Charles Hughes. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*. Available at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100072/index.html> (Accessed June 15, 2011).
- . *The Description of Ireland*. Edited and translated by Charles Hughes. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*. Available at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100071/index.html> (Accessed June 15, 2011).
- . *The Manners and Customs of Ireland*. Edited and translated by Charles Hughes. *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts*. Available at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100073/index.html> (Accessed June 15, 2011).
- Myers, James P., ed. *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.
- Norden, John. *A prayer for the prosperous proceedings and good successe of the Earle of Essex and his companies*. London, 1599. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).
- O'Dowd, Mary, ed., Public Records Office & Irish Manuscripts Commission. *Calendar of State Papers: Ireland, Tudor Period, 1571-1575*. Biggleswade, Bedfordshire: Watkiss Studios Ltd, 2000.
- Ó Laidhin, Tomás, ed. *Sidney State Papers, 1565-70*. Dublin: Fodhla Printing Company Limited, 1962.
- Queen Elizabeth I. *By the Queene*. London, 1578. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).
- . *By the Queene*. London, 1581. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).
- . *By the Queene*. London, 1599. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).

- . *By the Queenes Maiestie*. London, 1558. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).
- Rich, Barnabe. “A New Description of Ireland, Together with the Manners, Customs, and Dispositions of the People.” In *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland*, edited by James P. Meyers, Jr., 126-145. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983.
- Rider, John. *The coppie of a letter sent from M. Rider, deane of Saint Patricks, concerning the Newes out of Ireland, and of the Spaniards landing and present estate there*. London, 1601. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).
- Sidney, Henry, and Ciaran Brady, mod. editor. *A viceroy's vindication?: Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland, 1556-1578*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2002.
- Spenser, Edmund, and W. L. Renwick, mod. editor. *A view of the present state of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Stump, Donald V., and Susan M. Felch, eds. *Elizabeth I and Her Age: Authoritative Texts, Commentary and Criticism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009.
- William, Lily. *Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all and singular schoolmaisters and teachers of grammar within this our realme of England and other dominions, greetings. ...* England, date unknown. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).
- Zumel, Francisco. *An extracte of the determination, and censure of the doctours of the vniversities of Salamanca and Valledolid touching the vvarres of Ireland, and declaration of the Poape his breue concerning the same vvarres*. Salamanca, 1603. *Early English Books Online*. Available at <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>. (Accessed June 13, 2011).

Secondary Sources

- Bailey, Lisa Kaaren, Lindsay Diggelmann, and Kim M. Phillips. *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters, c.1000-c.1750*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009.
- Bottigheimer, Karl S. and Ute Lotz-Heumann. “The Irish Reformation in European Perspective.” *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte* 89 (1998): 268-309.

- Bradley, John, and F. X. Martin, eds. *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland: Studies Presented to Francis Xavier Martin*. Kilkenny: Boethus, 1988.
- Bradshaw, Brendan. "Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland." *The Historical Journal* 21, no. 3 (September 1978): 475-502.
- Brady, Ciaran. "The attainder of Shane O'Neill, Sir Henry Sidney and the problems of Tudor state-building in Ireland." In *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer, pp. 28-48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- . *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Brady, Ciaran and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds. *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Canny, Nicholas P. *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76*. New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976.
- . "Taking sides in early modern Ireland: the case of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone." In *Taking Sides?: Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Vincent P. Carey & Ute Lotz-Heumann, pp. 94-115. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- Carey, Vincent P. "A 'dubious loyalty': Richard Stanihurst, the 'wizard' earl of Kildare, and English-Irish identity." In *Taking Sides?: Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Vincent P. Carey & Ute Lotz-Heumann, pp. 61-77. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- . "Atrocity and history: Grey, Spenser and the slaughter at Smerwick (1580)." In *Age of Atrocity: Violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland*, edited by David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan & Clodagh Tait. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.
- Carey, Vincent P. and Ute Lotz-Heumann. *Taking Sides?: Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- Connolly, S. J. *Contested Island: Ireland, 1460-1630*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- . *Kingdoms United?: Great Britain and Ireland since 1500: Integration and Diversity*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.

Corish, Patrick J., and David C. Sheehy. *Records of the Irish Catholic Church*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2001.

Duffy, Eamon. *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Edwards, David. "The escalation of violence in sixteenth-century Ireland." In *Age of Atrocity: Violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland*, edited by David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan & Clodagh Tait. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.

Edwards, David, Pádraig Lenihan, and Clodagh Tait. *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.

Elliott, John Huxtable. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Ellis, Steven G. "Economic Problems of the Church: Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41, no. 2 (April 1990): 239-265.

———. *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule*. London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998.

Ford, Alan. *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.

———. "'Standing one's ground': religion polemic and Irish history since the reformation." In *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, edited by Alan Ford, James McGuire & Kenneth Milne. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995.

Ford, Alan, J. I. McGuire, and Kenneth Milne. *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland Since the Reformation*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995.

Gillespie, Raymond. "Differing Devotions: Patterns of Religious Practice in the British Isles, 1500-1700." In *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500: Integration and Diversity*, edited by S. J. Connolly. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.

Heal, Felicity. "Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56, no. 2 (2005): 261-286.

———. *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

- Jefferies, Henry A. *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.
- . “The Early Tudor Reformations in the Irish Pale.” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52, no. 1 (2001): 34-62.
- Jones, Norman. “Living the Reformations: Generational Experience and Political Perception in Early Modern England.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (1997): 273.
- Kelly, James, and Dáire Keogh. *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
- Lennon, Colm. “Mass in the manor house: the Counter-Reformation in Dublin, 1560-1630.” In *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, edited by James Kelly and Dáire Keogh. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
- . *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989.
- . “Taking sides: the emergence of Irish Catholic ideology.” In *Taking Sides?: Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Vincent P. Carey & Ute Lotz-Heumann, pp. 78-93. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- Mac Cuarta, Brian and Nicholas P. Canny, eds. *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and its Consequences: Essays Presented to Nicholas Canny*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.
- Meigs, Samantha A. *The Reformations in Ireland: Tradition and Confessionalism, 1400-1690*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Morgan, Hiram. “‘Slán Dé fút go hoíche’: Hugh O’Neill’s murders.” In *Age of Atrocity: Violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland*, edited by David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan & Clodagh Tait. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.
- Murray, James. “The diocese of Dublin in the sixteenth century: clerical opposition and the failure of the Reformation.” In *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, edited by James Kelly and Dáire Keogh. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
- . “Historical Revisit: R. Dudley Edwards, ‘Church and State in Tudor Ireland’ (1935).” *Irish Historical Studies* 30, no. 118 (1996): 233-241.
- Samson, Jane. *The British Empire*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Walsh, Katherine. “Deliberate provocation or reforming zeal?: John Bale as first Church of Ireland bishop of Ossory (1662/53-1563).” In *Taking Sides?: Colonial and*

Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland, edited by Vincent P. Carey & Ute Lotz-Heumann, pp. 42-60. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.