ELIZABETHAN JUSTIFICATIONS FOR VIOLENCE IN

IRELAND

by

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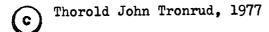THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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ABSTRACT

Violence was a central feature of Anglo-Irish relations in
the latter half of the sixteenth century. Besides the devastation
brought about by organized warfare there were many incidents of
violence of an extraordinary nature--violence employed in times of
truce as well as war, exercised against non-combatants of all ages,
and often carried out with extreme cruelty. Such destruction evoked
extensive response from many English gentry serving as officials
and administrators in Ireland. Their private and official accounts
of the Irish people and the Irish problem serve as the basis of my
study. This thesis will be an analysis of how these Elizabethan
gentry attempted to justify their violence, to legitimate it in
the face of external opposition, and to rationalize it within their
own minds. I will attempt to discover why Elizabethans found it
necessary to justify their actions in the intricate manner in
which they did, and what this may tell us about the intellectual
development of the English gentry throughout the sixteenth century.

An examination of the attitudes and policies of sixteenth-
century Englishmen towards Ireland reveals that a great change
took place over a relatively short period of time. Accounts and
policies dating from the reign of Henry VIII were both lenient
and sympathetic towards the Irish whereas those from the reign of
Elizabeth were, by and large, brutal. This change was to occur
mainly during the period of the Protectorate in England at a
time when military force and religious persecution became the pri-
mary tools by which Ireland could be brought to 'civility'. The

works dating from the reign of Elizabeth were, in large part, a response to the extraordinary violence which began at the mid-century and to the psychological tensions that such destruction created. For this reason, I have relied, to a limited extent, upon modern psychological theories to help explain some aspects of the Elizabethan justifications.

Finally, I am stating, as propositions, two conclusions. First, I propose that in the latter half of the sixteenth century the English and the Irish thought out and formulated ideas on two distinct intellectual planes and, as a consequence, were unable to fully comprehend the motives and aspirations of each other. This, I suggest, negated the possibility of a lasting peace in the sixteenth century and seriously hampered future attempts at reconciliation. Secondly, I submit that in their attempts to analyse and describe Ireland and to justify the violence perpetrated in that land, Englishmen were forced to re-examine their own society and to re-evaluate their role within it. It is possible, therefore, that their experience in Ireland was one of the numerous factors which helped many Englishmen break with the intellectual bonds of the past and to think in new and distinctive ways.

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CHAPTER I

CHANGING ATTITUDES AND POLICIES TOWARDS IRELAND

One of the most striking features of Anglo-Irish relations in

the time of Elizabeth I is their extremely violent nature. On

26 October 1598, an obviously ebullient William Saxey, the English

Chief Justice of Munster, wrote a report to Sir Robert Cecil in

which Irish rebels were accused of having

> effected many execrable murders and cruelties upon the
> English...infants taken from the nurse's breasts, and the
> brains dashed against the walls; the heart plucked out of
> the body of the husband in view of the wife, who was forced
> to yield the use of her apron to wipe off the blood from
> the murderers' fingers...divers sent to Youghal amongst
> the English, some with their throats cut, but not killed,
> some with their tongues cut out of their heads, others
> with their noses cut off; by view whereof the English
> might the more bitterly lament the misery of their
> countrymen...[1]

Accounts such as this permeate both the official and the unofficial

records of the late sixteenth century, and by the end of Tyrone's

rebellion in 1603 are almost commonplace. For example, the State

Papers for 1570 reveal Sir John Perrott, then President of Munster,

endeavouring to clear the roads of Irish bards, friars, travelling

gamblers, craftsmen, and wandering kern by dealing with them accord-

ing to martial law; some 800 of them were left hanging on the gibbets

of Munster.[2] And Thomas Churchyard, who accompanied Sir Humphrey

Gilbert on his 1569 mission of pacification, wrote approvingly of

Gilbert's methods:

> the heddes of all those...which were killed in the daie,
> should be cutte of from their bodies and brought to the
> place where he incamped at night, and should there bee
> laied on the ground by eche side of the waie ledyng into

his owne tente so that none could come into his tente
for any cause but commonly he muste passe through a lane
of heddes which he used ad terrorem, the dedde feelyng nothyng
the more paines thereby, and yet did it bring greate
terrour to the people when thei sawe the heddes of their
dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke and
freindes, lye on the grounde before their faces, as thei
came to speake with the said collonell.[3]

Clearly such actions must be distinguished from those
perpetrated during the ordinary course of war; their very inhuman-
ity necessitates that we do so. Throughout the sixteenth century
the common state of relations between England and Ireland was that
of war, punctuated by periods of exhaustion. As the century pro-
gressed, that conflict was to take on characteristics which clearly
set it apart from the wars of the past. By the mid-century, vio-
lence employed by both English and Irish was no longer merely a
condition of formal warfare but continued through periods of truce
and was exercised against those not directly involved in the bear-
ing of arms--against women and children, the aged and the crippled.
Hence an analysis of the late sixteenth-century violence in Ireland
does not simply mean a discussion of war, but rather a much broader
examination of the collective mentalities that allowed such actions
to take place.

As a result of external political and religious circumstances,
these mentalities were in a constant process of change. For the
Irish the struggle changed, by mid-century, from one of individual
political skirmishes into a collective 'war' against the English
with religion as its unifying and mobilizing force. For the Eng-
lish a mere political campaign against rebellious Irish lords, grew,
by the time of Elizabeth I, into a wholesale colonial conflict.
Both nations were to react to these fundamental changes in highly

distinctive ways--ways which reflected the peculiar psychological

development of each country. Therefore, an analysis of the policies

and attitudes of the English to the Irish problem, and of how these

attitudes changed over time, will give some insight into the

development of a particular mental evolution--into the process by

which new ideas and concepts arise. Such an examination will also

form the basis of a much broader discussion of the history of

ideas.

The massacre of non-combatants of all ages places the late

sixteenth-century Anglo-Irish struggle into a category which, in

terms of European history, is usually reserved for that of religious

conflict. Such violence definitely formed an integral part of

the sixteenth-century French religious riots,[4] but it was certain-

ly not in evidence on the same scale in the original Norman con-

quest of Ireland or in any of the rebellions in Tudor England.[5]

In the Anglo-Irish situation, such violence seems to have been a

late sixteenth-century innovation.

In the same way as in religious riots, the violence perpetrated

in Ireland, by both English and Irish alike, was unquestionably free

from the burden of guilt. How else could Sir Walter Ralegh, upon

the death of Gilbert, boldly single out Sir Humphrey's cruelty as

an accomplishment worthy of divine attention:

> Would God the service of Sir Humphrey Gilbert might
> be rightly looked unto, who with the 3rd part of
> the garrison now in Ireland ended a rebellion not
> much inferior to this in 2 months! Or would God his
> own behavior were such in peace as it did not make
> his good services forgotten and hold him in the
> preferment he is worthy of![6]

The physical nature of the violence exercised in Ireland cannot be clearly distinguished from the forms of destruction that characterized religious conflicts, but the written arguments used to rationalize those acts differ considerably.

Religious violence in the sixteenth century was so intense because, as Davis claims, it was intimately connected "with the fundamental values and self-definition" of the community, and it was explained in terms of goals, roles, and "patterns of behavior" allowed by the particular culture from which it originated.[7] The mere fact that no two religions could co-exist in the same culture without one imposing upon the religious purity of the other indicates that the fundamental values of that culture stemmed from and were determined by an all-pervasive religious mentality, and that, therefore, inter-group violence could only be legitimately justified by recourse to particular religious norms.[8] Hence, for Catholics as much as for Protestants, the mere presence of an opposing religion posed a grave threat to the very existence of the community, and, in particular, to its relationship with its god. In this way, the destruction of one's foes was rationalized almost wholly on the basis of religion--any other form of rationalization, if it existed, would not be fully sufficient.

For the Irish, whose religion pervaded their culture to an extent perhaps even greater than for the French, a purely religious justification for extraordinary violence seemed to be more than sufficient, but for the English it apparently was not. Beginning in the 1550's, the English, for a variety of reasons, found it

necessary to build an extremely elaborate system of justification, or more correctly, systems of overlapping and mutually reinforcing justifications. For most Englishmen, the purely religious argument--that we are Protestant and they are Catholic--was no longer fully sufficient and had to be supplemented by the secular. They felt a need to extend their arguments into all-encompassing forms which sought to legitimate not only the violent aspects of their policy, but also their very presence as a conquering force in Ireland. Thus, for Englishmen, the Anglo-Irish struggle was not based purely on religious grounds. The physical nature of English violence was indeed very similar to that of religious conflict but the means by which they rationalized that violence were very different. Herein lie two fundamental questions: 1) why and in what way did forms of justification offered by Elizabethan Englishmen vary from those used by the Irish and indeed, from those used by Englishmen in the first half of the century; and 2) in what way does the development of these previously unnecessary forms of justification reflect the growth of a peculiar English mentality?

Perhaps due to the small number of Englishmen living or working in Ireland in capacities other than that of administration, the primary sources for the period prior to 1550 come mainly from the official state records. The authors were invariably Englishmen or Old-English (those occupying land or titles in Ireland dating back as far as the Norman conquest) who occupied some official position in the small bureaucracy which ostensibly administered the whole of Ireland (but which in reality controlled only the Pale).

Their tasks were to "keep the peace, collect the taxes, consolidate the administration of a people whose one idea was to avoid being administered at all", to ensure the allegiance of the overpowerful Gaelic and Old-English lords, and to deny to any potential enemy the use of Ireland as a base of operation against England.[9] Appointed by the Crown and responsible to the English government these men could be counted on to reflect the official position on Ireland.

By the late 1530's the immanent threat of continental invasion, a consequence of Henry VIII's break with Rome, meant that Ireland became more strategically important to England. Its growing significance was reflected in a gradual change in the type of administration that ruled in the Pale. Beginning with Surrey in 1521, but especially with St. Leger in the 1530's there was a rapid expansion of the English government in Ireland. As new positions became available and as London began to take a more direct hand in the administration of the Irish, a great number of English-born officials--modern-minded men with new conceptions, and new ideas--flooded the island. These men came from every segment of English society, from the aristocracy--men such as Lord Grey, Sussex, and Essex--to the common labourers, the soldiers and colonists who directly confronted the Irish. However, the bulk of primary material upon which historians have relied for the second half of the sixteenth century is derived from a single social level--the gentry.

The gentry who came to Ireland acted either in the service of their lords or in the service of their king as military officers or

as administrators. Their private and official accounts--their explanations and solutions of the Irish problem--form the basis of my analysis. Their works are especially apt for a general discussion of the growth and development of the English mentality through the sixteenth century because, as a group, they were more or less representative of the mainstream of English intellectual thought. Some, such as Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Davies, both with deep involvement in Ireland, can be said to have reflected the vanguard of Renaissance thought, while other noted intellectuals, like John Hooker, Sir John Harington, and Sir Francis Bacon, found Ireland worthy of their attention. A great many--Edmund Spenser and Sir John Davies being the most notable--played active and even dominant roles in the literary world of Tudor and Stuart England, and others, such as Sir James Perrott and Ludowick Bryskett, were noted for their numerous philosophical works.[10] The list goes on and on: many were educated at either Cambridge or Oxford, served against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, or were Marian exiles with deep religious convictions.[11] Many of the noted Elizabethan explorers and colonizers such as Sir Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Richard Grenville, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert had some involvement in the development of English colonial policy in sixteenth-century Ireland.[12] In the final analysis, it can be said that those writing on Ireland in the second half of the sixteenth century were by and large representative of the attitudes of an intelligent Elizabethan gentry.

The commonly held attitude of the English gentry toward the

Irish during this period was that they were not only barbaric and savage, but virtually non-human. For the English, force was the only means whereby the Irish could be brought to any semblance of civility. It must be stressed, however, that Englishmen were by no means unanimous in their opinions of the Irish problem. There were dissenters in both halves of the sixteenth century, though, with a few exceptions, any deviation from the commonly accepted view was usually ignored or otherwise greeted as "hopelessly un-realistic" by those with any great experience in Ireland.[13] Except for a brief period around the mid-century, when the attitudes of both English and Irish fluctuated wildly amidst the political and religious turmoil of the times--a period in which new ideas and concepts met and clashed with the old--fundamental differences of opinion among the English were rare indeed. Any divergence of opinion was more likely to be a matter of degree than a challenge to the accepted orthodoxy. In their condemnation of the Irish, some writers were simply unwilling to go as far as others. This was especially so in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

If one is to believe the arguments put forward in the English accounts of Ireland, first from the reign of Henry VIII and then from that of Elizabeth, the Irish people apparently grew from being poor wretched souls, indeed English subjects, labouring under the tyranny of their lords and in desperate need of the civilizing influence of a strong but virtuous nation (ie. England), into murdering, entirely uncivilized barbarians, virtually incapable of being civilized--or to use Barnabe Rich's choice phrase, a people

"trained up in Treason, in Rebellion, in Theft...in Idolatry, and nuzzeled from their Cradles in the very puddle of Popery".[14] It is doubtful that Irish life became any more barbaric in the latter half of the sixteenth century, though it probably did become more visible; yet the attitudes of the English hardened and became more and more savage. I am inclined to believe that, in historical terms, this almost complete reversal of attitude occurred over a relatively short period of time--probably well within twenty years-- and reflected a fundamental shift in the very nature of English thought.

It is difficult to say whether Englishmen in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII had any distinct notion of the Irish people. Only rarely do the Irish ever make an appearance in the English correspondence that survives, and even then they are almost invariably subordinated to purely political concerns. Even after 400 years of English presence in Ireland, it is probably safe to say that until the latter half of the sixteenth century very few people in England had any conception of a peculiar Irish way of life. The extreme attention given in the later period to minute details-- their food and drink, their houses, their apparel, and even their sexual habits and marriage customs--indicates that the Irish were something new to the English mind, something to be studied, ridi- culed, and laughed at like the natives of Africa and North America. However, one finds no evidence that, as representatives of a cul- ture, they were more than objects of curiosity until William Camden resurrected the medieval compiler Cambrensis in the early 1570's.

If the Irish people were by and large absent from the English mental picture of Ireland in the early sixteenth century, the lords, both Gaelic and Old-English, were certainly not. Henry VIII's entire policy prior to 1518 was one of reliance upon the Old-English lords. Henry accepted the title "Lord of Ireland" until he proclaimed himself king in 1541, but he was more than willing to allow his vassals in Ireland to handle the day-to-day affairs of administration. Their allegiance was all he asked. In doing this he was merely following a well-established pattern originated in the time of Henry II. Not until the Reformation did he find any need to take direct control of the fate of Ireland. However, Henry was not entirely inactive in Irish affairs. As a result of "fresh rumors of...intrigues on the continent" by the Old-English Earl of Desmond in 1518, Henry and Wolsey began to take notice of Ireland and a hand in the course of Irish affairs.[15] For a brief period, until money considerations forced the abandonment of Henry's more ambitious policies, their aim was to bring the whole of Ireland under the authority of the Crown and to unify and 'anglicize' the church "under Wolsey's legatine authority".[16] This amounted to a reconquest of Ireland.

Henry's vision of reconquest was very different from that which would develop by the reign of Elizabeth. At this early stage Henry apparently had no conception of conquering a 'people'. Indeed, the concept of making war on a 'people' was perhaps alien to all of western Europe at this time. Kings made war and lords made war; the people merely served as subjects and vassals. Henry was willing to fight for his right to Ireland but his fight was not with

the 'Irish'. In typical medieval fashion, he saw his struggle as one of allegiance, vassalage, service, honour, and shame. For him, personal ties between himself and the lords in Ireland--ties subject to the restraints of 'good lordship' and involving the "provision of 'favours' and maintenance in return for service"[17]-- determined the nature of his conquest. His fight was of an individual nature, against rebellious lords rather than rebellious 'people'. The concept of the Irish as a term encompassing the whole of Ireland--titled and untitled, Gaelic and Old English alike-- as a distinct racial unit, was as yet alien to the English mind.[18] Only in the seventeenth century, after an extensive process of dechristianization and dehumanization, do Englishmen begin to react to the Irish 'en masse'.[19]

In this respect, Henry and the lords of Ireland were in total agreement. Both saw the struggle as one of politics and power. Without religious differences to divide them, the English and the Irish (including the Old English) had a much clearer understanding of the motives and the aspirations of each other. Though the Irish evidence is still very weak, it is probably safe to say that the Irish and Old English lords used the English Crown to further their own political purposes, either by gaining the post of Lord Deputy and thereby extending their power and control over a greater area, or by using English force as a protection against potential rivals.[20] Those Irish chiefs who opposed the advance of English power did so because they rejected any form of vassalage. They "wanted to be left alone to rule in their own way".[21] The English used their

power to gain that which Henry termed "our proper inheritance"--
in essence, the political control of Ireland. Therefore, prior to
the Reformation, both English and Irish saw their struggle as one
of allegiance, vassalage, and political power. Only following
the religious change and its effects upon the English mentality,
was each nation to carve a separate path oblivious of the aims of
the other.[22]

Henry, of course, would have preferred not to fight at all,
for mere allegiance was all he asked. His policy, by which the
lords in Ireland would surrender their lands to the Crown so that
he, in return, would regrant those lands in the form of an English
title, was a clear indication of his inability to fully conquer
the country. If "politique driftes and amiable persuasions"[23]
would suffice, violence would not be necessary. Henry wrote:

> We would you should not over much press them in any
> vigorous sort, but only to persuade them discreetly,
> upon consideration that the lands they have, be our
> proper inheritance...and what honour, quiet, benefit,
> and commodity, they shall have by such an end to be
> made with us, and what danger may come to them if
> they embrace not this our special grace showed unto
> them, to induce them gently to condescend to that,
> which shall be reasonably desired of them.[24]

This not only reveals his inability to bring about a military con-
quest of Ireland, but it also indicates his unwillingness to do so.

The documents of the period, which reveal a surprisingly
lenient policy accompanied by an extremely moderate view of the
Irish, reinforce such an argument. A comparison with Elizabethan
statements produces a striking contrast. Sir Richard Bingham wrote
in 1589:

> This dalliance with these rebels makes them most
> insolent, and without the sword be now and then
> severely used, it is impossible to govern the Irish
> people.[25]

Alen, Master of the Rolls in the time of Henry VIII, declared of

those same Irish:

> I wolde have trewythe used to them, that they moughte
> perceyve, that we desyryd more the weale and quyete,
> than ther catall or goodes; for by peace they shalle
> growe welthye, and then they cannot endure warre. I
> would have them, if I mought, be put oute of practyse
> of warre.[26]

Sir Thomas Cusake, writing to the Privy Council in 1541, merely

echoed the words of Alen when he claimed that if one simply in-

creases their substance by urging husbandry

> they will be lothe to warre, fering to have ther cuntreis
> destroied, and to lose ther substance; for the grete oc-
> casion of ther warre is povertie, for when they have
> nothing to loose, they forse not what warre to make.[27]

Such moderate views were common in the earlier half of the century.

Seldom does one find outright condemnation of the Irish people or

of their way of life, and when one does it is invariably placed in

the context of a sober exhortation for justice. For example, a

1533 report to Cromwell read:

> As to the surmise of the brutenes of peple,
> and the incivilitie of them, no doubte if ther
> were justice used amongst them, they wold be founde as
> civile, wise, politike, and as active, as any other
> nation.[28]

By contrast, Rokeley, Chief Justice of Connacht, summed up the

Elizabethan view when he wrote to Cecil in 1570:

> So beastly are this people, that it is not lenity
> that will win them...it must be fire and sword, the
> rod of God's vengeance...(it must be) valiant and
> courageous captains and hardy soldiers that must
> make a way for law and justice, or else farewell
> to Ireland.[29]

If condemnation was a central and virtually unanimous feature
of Elizabethan accounts of Ireland, the opposite was true of the
earlier period. Reports dating from the reign of Henry VIII were
much more accommodating in nature and often saw fit to sympathize
with the Irish.

One of the earliest accounts of the Henrician period, a 1515
work entitled "State of Ireland, and Plan for its Reformation",
had unqualified admiration for the perseverance of the Irish people
in the face of all manner of oppression. The unidentified official
who wrote this report, to emphasize the plight of the Irish, com-
pared their sorrow to the wealth and happiness of the English:

> What comen folke in all this worlde maye compare
> with the comyns of Ingland, in ryches, in fredom,
> and repayreith his cofers with golde, sylver, and
> precyous stones, save the comyns?...What comyn
> folke in all this worlde is so power, so feble, so
> ivyll besyn in town and fylde, so bestyall, so great-
> ly oppressid and trodde under fote, and fared so
> evyll, with so great myserye, and with so wrecheid lyff,
> as the comen folke of Ireland?...The Kinges'
> armye in Ingland is the comyns; the Kinges army in
> Ireland is all suche that oppresse the comyns...[30]

Prior to the mid-century such commiseration was the rule rather than
the exception. Fynes Moryson, seventy-five years later, would lay
the blame for Ireland's poor state on the "natural malice" of rebels
who take pleasure in "destroying the labours of other men".[31]
Ireland, according to him, "would yield abundance of all things"--
fish, metals, corn, wood--"if this public good were not hindered
by the inhabitants barbarousness; making them apt to seditions, and
so unwilling to enrich their Prince and Country; and by their
slothfulness, which is so singular as they hold it baseness to

labour".[32] But the author of the early report knew exactly where

to place the blame. The causes of Irish suffering, according to

him, lay not with the "natural sloth" of the Irish people and not

with their incivility and barbarism, but the blame lay squarely

with the king

> bycause he bereyth the cure and the charge temperall,
> under Godd, of all the landes, and in this 200 yers
> he hath byn recheles therof, and dyd not loke therto,
> ne cast ther yee theron; and in defaute therof, the
> landdes is, as yt is.[33]

The blame was even more heavily placed upon the king's deputy in

Ireland who takes advantage of his office to further his own

financial position, and in the process sets a bad example for

"the noble folk of the land":

> The Kynges Deputye, by extortion, chargeith the Kynges
> poor subgettes and comyn folke, in horsse mete and mannes
> mete, by estymation, to the value of 200ħ evey daye in
> the yere, one day countyd wyth an other which comeyth to
> the some of 36,000ħ yerelye.[34]

And finally, the blame was laid at the doorstep of the Church,

not the "poor friar beggars" but rather the archbishops, bishops,

and abbots for forsaking the land.

> Who supporteith the Churche of Cryst in Ireland,
> saive the poore comyns? By whom the Churche is most
> supporteid rightwell, be them most grace shalle growe.[35]

Such a document undoubtedly reflects an extreme position and its

bellicose nature probably explains why the author remains unidenti-

fied. However, it forcefully portrays the nature of English opin-

ion towards the Irish in the first fifty years of the century.

The Irish were a nation to be pitied. They were objects of sym-

pathy, a people in need of reformation; and who else was better

fit to bring them out of their misery, to educate and enlighten

them to the virtues of civility, than were the English. If the
realization of the economic and political goals of England were a
part of this process, so much the better. For many Englishmen, there-
fore, much of Ireland's misery was a direct result of English
negligence, and the poor Irish were, in essence, victims of injus-
tice.

This stands in striking contrast to the views adopted by the
Elizabethans. Edmund Spenser, for example, would concede no Eng-
lish fault in the origins of Irish misery and incivilty. One may
think, he claimed, that with the good example of the English set-
tlers

> being set before them, and their daily conversing
> with them, would have brought them by dislike of
> their own savage life to the liking and embracing
> of better civility. But it is far otherwise...(and)
> for two causes; first because they have been brought
> up licentuously and to live as each one listeth...
> so that now to be brought into any better order they
> account it to be restrained of their liberty and ex-
> treme wretchedness; secondly because they naturally [36]
> hate the English, so their fashions they also hate.

He goes on to lament that the English in the past did not "crush"
the Irish and force them to conform while they were still weak,
for now that they were strong, subduing them was made all the
more difficult.[37] And in 1612, Sir John Davies called for the
total and rapid subjection of the Irish as the only possible solu-
tion to the conflict between the two nations. For him, the past
lack of English success in Ireland rested in the "faint prosecu-
tion of the war and next in the looseness of the civil government".
His analogy of the English as cultivators and the Irish as the
land makes his view perfectly clear:

> For the husbandman must first break the land before
> it can be made capable of good seed; and when it is thorough-
> ly broken and manured if he do not forthwith cast
> good seed into it, it will grow wild again and bear
> nothing but weeds.[38]

For late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Englishmen, Ire-
land had to be first subdued and "broken by war" before civil
government could be established, and before the land could be "well
planted and governed".[39]

Views such as those of Davies and Spenser are representative
of an attitude virtually non-existent in the earlier period.
In Henry's time the argument that the Irish were "naturally"
savage, that some inherent mental weakness made them incapable of
civilized acts, was not used. There is no evidence to suggest
that the Irish were seen as being naturally inferior to the
English until well after the death of Henry VIII.

Prior to the mid-century, verbal praise for Irishmen was amply
supported by policy. In this sense, Henrician commentators were
much less ambiguous than their Elizabethan counterparts. A
writer in 1541 wrote that

> The Irishmen have pregnant subtile witis, eloquent, and
> marvelous natural in comynaunce(?) (but) they must be in-
> structid that the King entendeth not to exile, banyshe
> or destrue theym, but wold bee content that every of
> theym shuld enjoy his possessions, taking the same of
> the King...and to become his true subgietes obedient to
> his lawes, forsaking their Irish lawes, habittes and
> custumes, setting their children to lerne English.[40]

The Henricians apparently saw no need for drastic measures. Where-
as the Elizabethans could, in the same breath, recount the virtues
of the Irish and then call for their ultimate destruction, offi-
cials in the earlier period appear to have been much more consistent

and perhaps somewhat more sincere in their praise.

In 1612 Sir John Davies wrote, "For that I call a perfect con-
quest of a country which doth reduce all people thereof to the
condition of subjects".[41] In the time of Henry VIII there was no
need to 'reduce' the Irish to the condition of subjects, for they
were deemed subjects from the start. Henry wrote to the Earl of
Surrey in 1520:

> How be it, our mynde is not that ye shall impresse in
> thaym any opinion by fearfull wordes, that We intende
> to expelle theym from their landes and dominions,
> laufully possessed, but to conserve theym in their awne,
> and to use their advice and assistence, as of faithfull
> subgiettes, to recover our rightfull inheritaunce.[42]

It stood to reason that Irishmen, as English subjects, possessed
certain rights--rights that were denied them once they were declared
barbarian in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Most sig-
nificant was the right to protection under the Common Law. In
1520 the Earl of Surrey was faced with a small group of rebel
soldiers who had "threatened" to steal a boat and raid the coast
of England. Since he deemed it necessary to seek special per-
mission to punish those individuals, it is clear that, for Surrey,
those rebels lived under the protection of English law. He wrote
to Wolsey:

> considering they have doon noon act, but oonly
> promysid to doo, the comon lawe wold not suffer
> theym to dye therfor. And divers of theym have
> seen my patent, wherin is none auctoritie to put
> theym to deth, but oonly after the course of comon
> lawe. I movid Your Grace, that I might have had
> as large auctoritie...to punysh thoos that bee
> in wagis."[43]

The Elizabethans, by contrast, felt that innate barbarism excluded
the Irish from any legal recognition. One doubts that Sir John

Perrott found it necessary to seek permission when he set about to
clear the roads of Munster by using martial law.[44] And Edmund
Spenser wrote in his View of the Present State of Ireland that the
Irish were inclined to any vice and had no conscience or sense of
evil-doing. Therefore, he deemed it useless to attempt to restrain
them by fear of punishment, for it was impossible to remove a
fault so general with merely terror of laws. He felt that "laws
ought to be fashioned unto the manners and condition of the people
to whom they are meant and not to be imposed upon them according
to the simple rule of right". He concluded, therefore, that "it
is in vain to speak of planting of laws and plotting of policies
til they be altogether subdued".[45] In essence, the Irish were den-
ied the right to English law until they became the willing slaves
of English will.

Henry VIII, like many of the Elizabethans, based his concept
of civility upon law. For him, "politic governance and good jus-
tice" were impossible "unless the unbridled sensualities of inso-
lent folks be brought under the rule of laws. For realms without
justice be but tyrannies and robberies, more consonnant to beastly
appitites than to the laudable life of reasonable creatures".[46]
However, where Henry and his contemporaries differed from the
Elizabethans, was in the means by which the Irish could be brought
under the proper rule of law.

Henry VIII believed that the true conquest of Ireland could
only be accomplished "by sober waies, politike driftes, and
amiable persuasions, founded in lawe and reason, rather than by

rigorous dealings, comminacions, or and other inforcement by strenght or violence".[47] Herein lies the fundamental difference between the attitudes of Englishmen before and after the death of Henry VIII. The Elizabethans saw violence as essential to the attainment of their ends and unavoidable in the light of circumstances. Eventually violence even became an end in itself, something worthy of note (as Gilbert's obituary illustrates[48]) and indeed a virtue. Those of the earlier period, perhaps because of economic considerations, saw violence as a course to be avoided at all costs, to be used only as a last resort and even then only to a degree absolutely necessary to achieve their immediate goals. The idea that the wholesale destruction of the Irish people was required as a means of attaining their political goals would not have occurred to them. Henry, in writing to Surrey, stressed that violence, though perhaps justifiable in light of his proper claim to land and leadership in Ireland, was to be avoided, for "by strength the weaker is subdued and oppressed, which is contrary to all laws, both of God and of man". He urged Surrey to

> Cause theym (the Irish) to knowe the waies of justice,
> wherby they shalbe the rather moved not oonely to
> incline thereunto, but also to leve suche unlaufull and
> sensuall demeanours, as they have hitherto used.[49]

But by no means was he to use force. If English laws be too strict or harsh, he advises Surrey to discuss with the Irish, ways and means whereby the laws might be changed to suit their needs:

> By which meanys ye schall finally induce thaym, of
> necessitie, to conforme thayr ordre of lyvyng to the
> observance of summe reasonable law, and not to lyve
> at wyll, as they have usid heretofore.[50]

Henry VIII and St. Leger, his deputy in Ireland, had agreed
not only that that land should be governed as economically as
possible, but also that its "gradual and peaceful absorbtion should
be the business of a generation or longer".[51] However, with the
death of Henry, a rapid change was to take place. Political cir-
cumstances in England were to signal an increasingly hostile mili-
tary policy in Ireland. Both Somerset and Northumberland, faced
with numerous problems in England and Scotland, and highly inse-
cure in their positions of power, seemed not to have the patience
to carry on the prolonged policy of gradual religious conversion
and cultural assimilation that had been the hallmark of the for-
mer regime.

Somerset, for example, was above all a practical man who
realized the persuading power of applied force. His actions in
Scotland and in Ireland, where garrisoning formed the key element
in his ruling policy, clearly reflected this.[52] However, he was
also an extremely stubborn man and it was this that gave his
government its distinctive character. He was persistent in his
attempts to make unworkable things work and this applies especially
well to his religious and military policies in Ireland.[53] For
such a government there was little room for conciliation. A
letter from Edward VI to Lord Deputy Sir James Croft in August
1551 revealed the true attitude of the Edwardian government:
"...we will win them not by their wills but by our power...then
they shall obey because they cannot choose"[54], and Viceroy Grey
reaffirmed this in 1581 when he reported to the queen that "fear,

and not dandling must bring them to the basis of obedience".[55]

The new military policy began in the late 1540s with a lengthy series of charges brought against St. Leger by his fellow officials, Bellingham and Brabazon. The primary accusation was that St. Leger was too lenient and "more favourable to Irishmen than to the king's subjects".[56] Brabazon, then Lord Justice, favoured the creation of garrisons and the reformation of Leinster so that "as few of the inhabitants of the area be retained as possible".[57] A strong military policy was nothing really new in Ireland. In the interests of royal power, the Earl of Surrey had set about to force the Irish lords into submission thirty years before. But the Edwardian policy, because of the Reformation, was coloured by a factor far more important than that of royal prestige--that factor was religion.

Henry VIII had sought to bring about the Reformation in Ireland in much the same way that he had in England: through the use of statutes, by acts of parliament, and by suppressing the monasteries.[58] It appears, though, that he encountered trouble right from the start, for in 1536 we find him threatening members of the Irish parliament in order to pass legislation declaring him head of the Church.[59] However, with the death of Henry, Protestantism was freed of the deadweight that had held it back for well over a decade, and it was pushed forward with an enthusiasm totally uncharacteristic of the previous generation. For a short time political expediency gave way to religious zeal and the "expansion of English power went hand in hand with the progress of religious

reform".[60] By and large indifferent to the potentially explosive nature of the Irish situation, the government in England launched upon a relentless policy of religious pacification--a policy which was bound to have serious repercussions in Catholic Ireland. The government in London presumed that the law of England "should of necessity be the law of Ireland (and) the English parliament was called upon to enact the new religious measures and to extend them of its own authority to Ireland".[61] In this process, the lords of Ireland, the Irish parliament, and even the Irish Church were totally ignored.

During the deputyship of Sir James Croft (1551-53) we see the beginnings of such a policy in the appointments of John Bale and Hugh Goodacre as bishops in Ireland,[62] in the increasingly strict enforcement of anti-Catholic injunctions, and in the establishment of commissions entrusted to "abolish Idolatry, papistry, the mass sacrement, and the like".[63] Under Northumberland

> secular control of the religious hierarchy was
> tightened. The new communion service of 1548 replaced
> the mass. Surviving images were removed, and parliament,
> which authorized the new service book, the Book of
> Common Prayer...established an authorized form of worship
> with penalties for non-observance.[64]

Sir James Croft, primarily a military man, was still very much a representative of the earlier model of administration and attempted to effect some degree of compromise into the religious controversy. Moderation and conciliation, however, were not what the government in London had ordered and Croft was forced to work so as not to place any obstacles in the way of Archbishop Browne. Ultimately, the religious reformation of Ireland during the period of the Pro-

tectorate was left in the hands of radical Protestants.[65]

The consequences of such a policy were broad indeed, for the religious pacification of a nation as strongly Catholic as Ireland, when combined with the fear of continental intervention, necessitated a military policy of a nature unprecedented in the history of Anglo-Irish relations. When an increasingly hostile military policy was combined with an unpopular religious reformation, the nature of violence in Ireland underwent a dramatic change. Even Croft, hardened by military service overseas, came to abhor the type of destruction employed against the Irish:

> these unexpert captains and soldiers that hath slain and destroyed as well the unarmed as the armed, even to the plowman that never bare weapon, extending cruelty upon both sexes and upon all ages, from the babe in the cradle to the decrepit age, in sort not to be named and by Christian people not to be looked upon.[66]

In another example, Lord Grey de Wilton's massacre of Spaniards, Italians, and Irish at Smerwick in 1580, an action which Spenser felt obliged to defend, had undisguised religious overtones. Lord Grey was a man of strong religious convictions. He "was convinced that only the eradication of Catholicism in Ireland would put an end to the troubles it brought into existence",[67] and he favoured stern measures accompanied by a rigorous enforcement of religious persecution. His massacre of 600 men, women, and children was reported by Irishmen in remarkably graphic detail. Of three convicted of what were described as religious crimes, one Irish source wrote:

> their legs and arms were at a forge, broken in three places, and they were left to lie in agony for a whole night, to be hanged, drawn and quartered on the following morning.[68]

For the first time in its history, England had embarked upon a policy of pacification which had as its primary aim the 'civilizing' and religious conversion of Irishmen through purely military means. Croft's promotion to Lord Deputy, almost surely a result of his military expertise, "suggests that Northumberland had decided that the conciliatory efforts of St. Leger were unsuccessful and that a military government led by Croft, might succeed where the gentler methods of St. Leger (and Henry VIII) had failed".[69] The military policies of Northumberland and Somerset differed from those of earlier times by the fact that the inevitable violence involved, was no longer seen as a necessary accompaniment to more humanitarian means of pacification, but became the primary tool by which Ireland could be 'reduced' to civility. By the end of Edward's reign the government in England had come to realize that the long drawn out policy of gradual change that had been the hall-mark of Henry's and St. Leger's policy, was indeed the best policy. However, to return to that policy "was not so easy as the departure, and many of the problems of Irish history can be traced to this source (for) in almost every department the government of Edward brought decisive changes which were to have lasting influences in Irish history".[70] In the final analysis perhaps St. Leger was right when he said of the innovations in religion introduced by Edward VI:

> if the Lords of the council had letten all things
> in the order the King's father left them and meddled
> not to alter religion neither had the rebellion in
> England, nor all these hurley-burleys happened.[71]

During the reign of Edward VI, we have seen that political

and religious circumstances required a policy of extreme violence.
It was a violence which was to feed on itself and eventually cul-
minate in a decade-long war at the end of the century. The argu-
ment advanced in the succeeding pages will be an analysis of how
the Elizabethan gentry attempted to justify that violence, to
legitimate it in the face of external opposition, and to rational-
ize it within their own minds. I will attempt to discover why
Elizabethans found it essential to justify their actions in the
intricate manner in which they did, and what this may tell us
about the intellectual status of the English gentry through the
sixteenth century.

In their role as 'anthropologists'--men faced with the task
of assimilating and describing a culture so alien to that of their
own--the English gentry were forced to make explicit ideas and
concepts which until then had only remained unconscious. Without
any great experience in dealing with cultures alien to that of
Europe, they were compelled to describe Ireland in terms of Eng-
lish society. Therefore, in their attempts to analyse Irish society,
Englishmen were forced to re-examine their own. A description of
Ireland was to become a glorification of England and two opposing
absolutes--savagery and civility--came to pervade their thought.
It would be presumptuous to claim that their Irish experience
allowed the English gentry to break from the intellectual bonds of
the past and to create a new conception of 'order', a new defini-
tion of liberty, and a new basis for statehood, for such new con-
cepts were arising throughout western Europe at this time under

the guise of humanism and the renaissance of classical thought.
However, the Irish problem, in that it forced Englishmen to re-
formulate, re-evaluate, and bring into the open fundamental questions
about the very nature of their society, the role of their govern-
ment, and the essence of their religion, allows the historian some
glimpse into the process by which new ideas were formed. There-
fore, their writings serve as a mirror to reflect not only the
attitudes of a particular class of Englishmen, but also the in-
tellectual framework which allowed those attitudes to achieve their
overwhelming significance.

CHAPTER II

ELIZABETHAN DESCRIPTIONS, ATTITUDES, AND
JUSTIFICATIONS FOR VIOLENCE IN IRELAND

Fear and Violence

Neil Smelser writes that, "one of the most profound aspects
of evil is that he who does the evil is typically convinced that
evil is about to be done to him".[72] It was fear of this nature that
compelled Englishmen to attempt the pacification of Ireland. We
have seen that it was rumors of intrigues by the Earl of Desmond
with powers potentially hostile to England that sparked Henry into
taking direct action in Ireland[73], and such alliances with foreign
Princes were to become increasingly common as the century progressed.
In 1551 Cormac O'Connor was in France plotting the invasion of
Ireland by the combined forces of Scotland and France, and a
healthy Irish correspondence was carried on with both Spain and
Rome during the course of nearly all the revolts in the latter half
of the sixteenth century.[74] Almost every hostile power at some
point in this period had attempted to use Ireland as a base of
operations for military action against England. Ireland, along
with Scotland, was a weak link in England's line of defence and
"no English government could feel secure while the long western
seaboard was open to invasion from across St. George's Channel".[75]

The critical point for English fear of invasion through Ire-
land came with the Reformation. Permanent religious enemies on
the continent meant that England could look forward to the
possibility of prolonged wars inspired by religion, with Catholic

Ireland as a constant threat. England, therefore, could not

forsake Ireland, and was forced to take an active role in her

administration. Englishmen were continually reminded of this

threat by Irish rebels who always waged war in the name of the

Pope and the Roman Catholic faith. Tyrone, for example, made

liberty of conscience his primary demand in all his negotiations[76]

and Desmond demanded of the mayor and corporation of Cork during

his rebellion in 1569 that they

> aboolissh oute of that cittle that old heresy newely
> raised and invented, and namely Barnaby Daaly and
> all theim that be Hugnettes, boothe men and woomen.[77]

However, aside from the purely military and strategic aspects

of English policy, there undoubtedly existed for both nations a

tremendous fear of the unknown. Those officials coming to Ireland,

and indeed Englishmen in general, were by and large inexperienced

in dealing with cultures thought to be alien to the European mode

of life, and consequently they realized more than their share of

ethnocentrism. Once Englishmen had extended their range of contact

beyond that of the Pale, they were confronted with a culture

which they alleged lacked the essential ingredients of civilization

and which demanded explanation. The Irish were a nomadic people

who cultivated no land, whose capital consisted of cattle, and

whose appearance defied English standards of decency.[78] Sir John

Davies found it strange that in "a land abounding with all things

necessary for the civil life of man", they build no houses of

brick or stone, they plant no gardens or orchards, they don't

"enclose or improve their lands, congregate in villages and towns,

or make provisions for posterity".[79]   In fact, once the English

gentry failed to find (or to force by decree) similarities between

the two cultures, they themselves felt threatened, and resorted

to an increasingly negative mode of description, emphasizing cleavage,

separation, and segregation.[80]   For the English gentry, coming from

the comfortable surroundings of their homes in England, all this

was "beastliness, nauseating, contemptible, and inexplicable".[81]

What they failed to understand, they necessarily disliked, dis-

trusted, and inevitably struck out at.

Fear of this type can, and did, in the case of Ireland, lead

to the perpetration of considerable violence. Violence in the

reign of Elizabeth was of a form unseen in the time of Henry VIII.

The rebellion of Silken Thomas and those of the O'Brian's and the

Kavanagh's in the 1530's were violent primarily on the battlefield

and mainly against those men taking an active part in the course

of rebellion. However, as religious divisions grew, and as more and

more Englishmen came into contact with a people they had been led

to believe were both barbaric and traitorous, the nature of violence

changed dramatically. Examples such as that reported by William

Saxey in 1598 or that described so vividly by Churchyard above[82],

where women and children suffered a fate as bad, if not worse, than

the soldiers of war, and where starvation and massacre were accept-

able, and even encouraged forms of pacification, became the natural

course of affairs by the end of the century. In 1599, Patrick

Crosby, a reliable spy in Ireland[83], was able to write to Sir Roger

Wilbraham

> that Ireland was lost and savings towns and castels
> all at the rebels will: that no means but famyn to
> constraine them to loyalti: and that must be by ta-
> king their cattall and hindering the seeds and harvest
> and burning their corne.[84]

His plot was to send several loyal Irish lords against the Munster

rebels "so both sides would be wasted in warre: Leinster Mouster

and Connaght wold be ruyned by famyn and so made quiet".[85] In

another example, Fynes Moryson revelled in giving his 1603 des-

cription of starving Irishmen who "thrust long needles into the

horses of our English troops" so that upon the death of the animals

they would be "ready to tear out one another's throat for a share

of them", and he seemed to take pleasure in relating how

> no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of
> towns...than to see multitudes of these poor people
> dead, with their mouths all colored green by eating
> nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up
> above ground.[86]

Indeed, the nature of violence had changed.

However, even with the existence of considerable fear, ex-

traordinary violence of the type seen in late sixteenth-century

Ireland required some other form of justification. Elizabethan

Englishmen made use of a great number of exceedingly complex argu-

ments which, in the final analysis, justified not only their vio-

lent acts but also their entire policy in Ireland.

Authorization for Violence

A critical step in the ultimate rationalization of personal

acts of extreme cruelty is the establishment of some form of auth-

orization. In Ireland we find two forms of authorization: 1) di-

rect and 2) implicit. In the Irish situation, direct authoriza-
tion is rarely found coming from those agencies or institutions
which had the power to put such violence into effect. Both the
English Church and government seemed unwilling to accept the full
responsibility that accompanied direct sanctioning of violent or
destructive acts. Unlike in France, where one finds Catholic
priests and Huguenot preachers exhorting their respective congre-
gations to further acts of violence and in the process absolving them
of all moral responsibility[87], one finds very few examples of
direct manipulation of crowds in Ireland. The considerable lack
of documentary evidence for the Irish side of the struggle may
weaken such an argument and it could very well be that Irish
priests did exhort their followers to acts of extreme violence.
Regardless, the Irish unused to and rebellious against any form of
physical restraint, needed no admonition to destroy Englishmen,
and the English found sufficient authorization through other means.
However, in reading the contemporary private English accounts, as
opposed to the official State Papers, one finds numerous examples
of direct exhortation to violence, accounts which urge near extir-
pation as the only means whereby Ireland can be brought to proper
civility. Fynes Moryson asserted that

> those who best understood the Irish nature found
> nothing so necessarie for keeping them in obedience
> as severitie, nor so dangerous for the increase
> of murthers and outrages as indulgence towards them.[88]

And Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam wrote in 1572:

> this people...hath been longly misled in beastly
> liberty and sensuall immunity so as they cannot
> abide to hear of correction, no, not for the horriblelest

> sins they can commit. Till the sword have
> thoroughly and universally tamed (and not meekened
> them) in vain is law brought against them: nay
> dangerously is the bridle thereof shaked towards them...
> this makes them all tooth and nail...to
> spurn, kick and practice against it.[89]

Such reports both authorized and mobilized evil by providing the

means whereby Irishmen could be declared barbaric, subhuman, and

thoroughly undeserving of any mercy. In this way, they helped to

set the stage for a guilt-free massacre.

Much more important, and much more common in the Irish situa-

tion, was implicit authorization for evil. "Authorization often

involves a posture that does not openly and positively sanction...

destructiveness" but yet does not prohibit it.[90] We do not find

the English government expressly authorizing Gilbert or Essex to

embark upon policies of extermination in Ireland. Indeed, in 1580,

Elizabeth felt compelled to stress that it was not her intention

"to extirpate the inhabitants of Ireland".[91] However, if we find

no examples of direct government authorization, neither do we

find the establishment of strict policy guidlines, and once in-

flicted, the evil invariably draws praise from authorities in Lon-

don. Following Gilbert's successful policy of violent pacification,

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy at the time, reflected official

opinion when he wrote:

> For the Colonel I cannot say enough...(the land was
> brought to some semblance of civility by his actions)
> and yet this is not the most or the best that he hath
> done; for the estimation that he hath won to the name
> of Englishmen there, before almost not known, exceedeth
> all the rest...The name of an Englishman is more terrible
> now to them than the sight of a hundred was before.
> For all this I had nothing to present him with but
> the honour of Knighthood.[92]

So Gilbert was knighted for his violence...the Earl of Essex fared

little worse. Following his unauthorized massacre of 200 Irish

men and women in 1574, the queen wrote that

> when the occasion doth present you do rather allure
> and bring in that rude and barbarous nation to ci-
> vility...by wisdom and discreet handling...and yet
> when necessity requireth you are ready also to oppose
> yourself and your forces to them whom reason
> and duty cannot bridle.[93]

The government, in essence, authorized evil without officially

sanctioning it and allowed the mobilization to develop "through

independent social mechanisms".[94]

With this form of authorization we see the emergence of a new

phenomenon which may have greatly enhanced the capacity of the

English people to exercise extraordinary violence. This was the

growth of what may be loosely termed the nation state:

> The European nationalism of the sixteenth century
> amounted to a consolidation and centralization of
> certain geographical areas into a single and distinct
> political units or nation states...Ireland was the
> victim of the operation of this process in England.[95]

It is quite possible that the need to justify violence in Ireland

was one of the many factors which caused the English gentry to re-

ject gradually the medieval paternalistic ties--the 'lineage

society', the sense of 'blood'--of lord to vassal, of landlord to

tenant, in favour of a more diverse allegiance to institutions and

ideas: to the state of England. The act of extensively comparing

English and Irish cultures, as many Elizabethans were doing, could

only have reinforced this trend. As a means of escaping direct

responsibility for disturbing acts, modern man identifies with a

larger cultural and racial unit which, in most cases, is the 'state'.

What is seen is "the merger of individual responsibility with
(that of) the organization and its fate".[96] Individuals, therefore,
come to see themselves as agents or instruments of a larger 'cause'
to which responsibility for violent acts can be delegated, and,
in this way, they absolve themselves of any blame. It is possible
that a similar process was at work in sixteenth-century Ireland.
For the Irish, their 'cause' was the church; for the intellectually
enlightened English gentry, it was the 'state'. The increasing
moral and cultural nationalism reflected in the English writings
of the period lend support to such an argument.[97] Sir Thomas
Smith, for example, saw England as superior to all other nations
including the ancient Romans, and Spenser wrote that:

> the English were at first as stout and warlike a
> people as were the Irish and yet you see are now
> brought to that civility, that no nation in the world
> excelleth them in all goodly conversation.[98]

The English commentators, therefore, partially out of a need to
justify violence and partially as a consequence of the trend to-
wards consolidation occurring throughout western Europe at this
time, began to associate more and more with the English state as
an abstract unit. However, in the English mind, Ireland was still
very much a part of that unit. "It hardly entered into the mental
equipment of the Elizabethans to consider Ireland as a separate
political entity, for that claim had scarcely yet been made".[99]
Hence, the consolidation of England into a nation state automati-
cally meant the inclusion of Ireland as a part of that unit, and by
force, so 'necessity' seemed to dictate.

Moderation and Reaction

That the English writers of the latter half of the sixteenth
century felt a need to justify their acts is in itself important.
It reveals that they were unsure of the efficacy of not only their
immediate policies but also their entire position in Ireland. Their
arguments reveal that they were uncertain of the validity of 'con-
quest' as a justification, of the use of extraordinary violence as
a means of pacification, and even of the actual barbarousness of
the Irish.[100] By the mere fact that these writers felt that they
had to justify the violence perpetrated in Ireland, they acknowledged
the existence of opposition. Without some opposing view, justifi-
cation would not have been necessary, for even if violence is
justified by reference to authorizing agencies or simply by way of
revenge, that need for exculpation invariably occurs "in the con-
text of other competing values and standards that define (that
destruction) as illegitimate and, indeed, evil".[101] Such opposi-
tion came in the guise of moderate opinions which urged lenity and
temperance rather than force. Such moderation came from men who
were reacting to excessive violence with alternate proposals--pro-
posals which seemed to threaten those officials who advocated
harsh measures. Therefore, moderate opinions stand as evidence
of inner tensions within a 'community' of values. As late as
1575, Lord Burghley was proposing that a "bridge be built between
the two legal systems" and consequently between the two societies.
He wrote:

> The best is to seek the reformation of Ireland as
> well by force as by order of justice, that the English

> may obey laws and the Irishry be kept from rebellion.
> And so by success of time the Irish be brought to be
> governed either by the law of England or by some
> constitutions to be compounded partly of their own
> customs and Brehon laws, that are agreeable to reason,
> and partly of English laws.[102]

This sounds very much like Henry VIII's policy of some fifty

years earlier, but the simple differences are that Burghley's

was never implemented, and that it is wholly unrepresentative of

the common opinion of his time.

There were other voices of moderation, though they invariably

came from those with little or no direct experience in Ireland.

Sir Thomas Sidney, for example, spent very little time in Ireland

before condemning the methods used by the English soldiery, and Sir

Thomas Cecil had never been to Ireland when he wrote in 1580 that

he "had put his finger on the real obstacle to any permanent

accomodation between England and the Irish: lack of trust by the

latter in English sincerity".[103] For him, the Irish problem could

best be solved by taking away

> the fear of conquest of late deeply seated in the
> hearts of the wild Irish (and) to wink at certain
> private disorders which do not properly offend the
> Crown and have by custom long been used in that
> realm.[104]

Although most of those with any prolonged contact with the Irish

seemed to react in a repressive way, there were also those with

great experience in Ireland who leaned towards moderation. Mount-

joy's policy, for example, showed signs of toleration quite unchar-

acteristic of his time. He proposed that "the carrying of an even

course between the English and the Irish whether it be in competi-

tion or in controversy as it were one nation...is one of the best

medicines of that estate".[105] But it was also he who, in 1601, deemed it necessary "to overcome them...by famine",[106] and who proposed to the Privy Council that Irish soldiers be sent to the Indies where they might hopefully die off.[107]

On the whole, moderate views were greeted as wholly unrealistic by officials with any experience in Ireland. The counter-arguments used were either that such practices had already been tried and were to no avail, or that the Irish were simply too barbarous to heed English good intentions. For example, Lord Grey de Wilton wrote in 1581 that "the Irish were to addicted to treachery and breach of fidelity as, longer than they find the yoke in their neck, they respect neither pledge, affinity, or duty".[108] And a frustrated Sir John Perrott, faced with increasingly hostile Irish forces, "called for an end to conciliatory methods for dealing with rebellion".[109] There is little doubt as to what he felt should take the place of conciliation.[110] Barnabe Rich defended harsh measures by claiming that the Irish preferred to "live like beastes, voide of law and all good order", and they they were "more uncivill, more uncleanly, more barbarous and more brutish in their customs and demeanures, than in any other part of the world that is known".[111] And finally there were those who simply felt that force and violence were the best means for achieving the reduction of Ireland. Sidney, for example, was more concerned "with the use of force to sweep away all obstacles than with justice or with strict proceedure according to law";[112] Moryson claimed that "England ought to use power where reason availeth not, nothing is soe proper

to rule by force whom force hath subjected";[113] and finally Gilbert
wrote: "Being for my part constantly of the opinion that no
conquered nation will ever yield willingly their obedience for
love but rather for fear".[114]

Therefore, the rationalization of the violence perpetrated in
Ireland was in many ways a response to the existence of moderation.
However, Elizabethan officials were not only reacting to written
lenity, for that formed an extremely small and insignificant por-
tion of the total literature on Ireland, but, more importantly,
they were reacting to certain tensions created within their own
minds. Their actions transgressed their ethical code--a code
which decreed that they had exceeded the normal limits of morality.
The Elizabethan commentators, in essence, were suffering from the
pangs of conscience, and the rationalization of their violence was
the means by which they attempted "to smooth over and otherwise
come to terms with that tension".[115]

CHAPTER III

FORMS OF JUSTIFICATION

Perhaps the easiest rationalization for violence that the
English used was that of revenge. Churchyard, for example, while
recognizing the possibility that Gilbert's actions might be sub-
ject to ostracism, partially justified his policy of extermina-
tion thus:

> in excuse whereof it is to be answered that he
> did but then begin that order with them which they[116]
> had in effect evertofore used towards the English.

Revenge, however, merely justified actions which would under other
circumstances, be considered as evil. Therefore, the English
found it expedient to go a step further. "Justification is
rationalization"..."but legitimation is perfected justification and
thus a far more effective mask, a stronger mode of defence".[117]
Indeed, it is so strong that it often becomes offensive rather than
defensive. The English, it seems, were not satisfied with merely
justifying evil deeds. They sought to make their extraordinary
violence into a virtue. For them, to legitimate an act was to see
its goodness.[118]

To make the indiscriminate killing of Irish men, women, and
children into an act of divine goodness, would have allowed the
English to answer any objections, moral or otherwise, which might
have been raised against them--objections raised by members of
their own community and, perhaps more importantly, objections raised
within their own conscience. However, to turn vice into a virtue

necessitated a much more complex intellectual arsenal than in the past, and the English, it appears, were more than up to the task.

We find two forms of argument. First there were those who felt that the reduction of Ireland by violent means was a necessary evil--an unfortunate course of action--but unavoidable under the circumstances. They--Davies, Bryskett, Mountjoy, and Smith being the most prominent--sought to justify their presence and their policies in Ireland by appealing to legal, philosophical, and nationalistic or patriotic arguments. For them, the destruction of an Irishman was a small price to pay for the glorious ends that would ultimately be achieved.

In the second case, we find an extremely complex argument from those who earnestly believed that the English brought no evil to Ireland and who revelled in the thought of extreme cruelty as Ireland's just punishment. Their legitimation involved an elaborate argument for the degradation, dechristianization, and ultimate dehumanization of all the Irish. The major proponents of this form of argument would be Moryson, Rich, Gilbert, Essex, Sidney, Sir John Perrott, and perhaps even Spenser. These men might be called bloodthirsty, and indeed they were. But they were bloodthirsty with the kind of detachment that affirms that those being killed were not seen as human beings. Gilbert, for example, wrote to England in a very matter-of-fact manner describing his procedures for the reduction of Ireland as if they were really not worth mentioning. He refused to speak or make peace with any rebels except on his terms and put:

> all those from time to time to the sword that did
> belong, fed, accompany or maintain any outlaws or
> traitors. And after my first summoning of any castle
> or fort, it they would not presently yield it, I
> would not afterward take it of their gift but win
> it per force, how many lives soever it cost, putting
> man, woman, and child of them to the sword.[119]

He could just as easily have been describing the weather.

These two types of argument overlapped in numerous ways as each author grasped whichever argument suited his purposes. No strict division existed. Sir John Davies, for example, could be just as adament in his desire to 'force' the Irish into submission as was Fynes Moryson, if it served to further his legal argument.[120] Some authors seemed to place more emphasis on one type of argument than on the other, while others drew equally from both. I do not mean to create divisions where they don't exist, but the various justifications used by virtually all the writers at one point or other are much more easily studied if a distinction is made between those arguments which stress dehumanization and those which do not.

Moderate Justifications

Sir John Davies and Sir Thomas Smith are perhaps the best representatives of the more moderate school of thought with respect to the Irish question. They, like their more brutal colleagues, envisioned an Ireland which was modelled after and totally subservient to English society,[121] and consequently their methods were no less violent. As Davies stated, "a barbarous country must first be broken by a war before it will be capable of good government",[122]

and Smith was in total agreement when he greeted Irish rebellion as "the best token that can be that God will prosper this doing when he casteth his feare in them before whom he wold have reduced into good order".[123] The means whereby Ireland was 'reduced' to that civility did not seem to concern them, for one finds no criticisms in their works of the brutal methods proposed by their colleagues. However, the means by which they sought to justify the brutality, and also their very presence in Ireland, differed considerably from those of their associates.

It seems that neither Davies nor Smith accepted the argument that an Irishman was somewhat less than human (as some of their compatriots were proposing) and they were consequently forced to advance alternate justifications for their actions. Smith, more concerned with Ireland as a potentially rich colony, preferred to see England in the role of civilizer rather than conquerer. In the same way that the Romans had guided the ancient Britons to the virtues of civility, England, in his opinion, was the harbinger of civilization to the Irish.[124] For Smith, therefore, the reduction of Ireland, by whatever means, became only a small, perhaps insignificant part of a larger national and spiritual mission to spread the virtues of civilization to the world. Amidst the rhetoric that accompanied such an argument, individual acts of violence could be readily dismissed.

Sir John Davies accepted Smith's argument when he referred to the Romans as having civilized "our ancestors the ancient Britons".[125] However, his main argument was based almost entirely on law. It

rested upon two axioms: 1) that the Irish were 'enemies' and, therefore, outside the protection of the laws of England; and 2) that the Irish had no law and that since realms without law were mere anarchies, Ireland had to be forcefully 'reduced' to the acceptance of English law.

Davies wrote of the sixteenth century that "the mere Irish were not only accounted aliens but enemies, and altogether out of the protection of law, so it was no capital offence to kill them".[126] In a strict legal sense, therefore, he was claiming that the killing of Irishmen could not be punished by English Common Law for, as enemies, the Irish had no legal status under that law. In this way, the mere act of declaring the Irish people as enemies allowed Davies to legitimate their destruction. Davies, however, was writing in the seventeenth century, at a time when the legal position of the Irish was much easier to define.[127] Because the Tyrone rebellion drew together the vast majority of Irishmen into a single hostile force, Englishmen in the seventeenth century were able to clearly pronounce 'the Irish' as enemies. Prior to this the legal status of Irishmen was still very much in a state of flux. Although during periods of peace in the sixteenth century few Englishmen felt they had the right to kill any Irishman, the confusion that surrounded who was and who was not an 'enemy' left the strictly legal question of the destruction of Irishmen unsettled. This uncertainty may account for much of the tension that runs throughout the Elizabethan works and it helps to explain the vast number of justifications that the English officials ultimately employed. Only

in the seventeenth century were the Irish sufficiently depersonal-
ized to allow their destruction to be legitimized on the basis of
the lack of legal status of the Irish 'people' or of the Irish
'nation'. In putting forward the concept that the Irish were
enemies, Davies was legitimating English presence and violence in
Ireland on the basis of conquest. He, like Smith, preferred the
role of civilizer rather than conquerer and he consequently sought
further justification.

According to Davies, the law was the determining force in
every aspect of life:

> ...all our peace, plenty, civility, and moral honesty
> dependeth uppon the lawe. That wee enjoy our lives, our
> wives, our children, our lands, our goodes, our good
> names, or whatsoever is sweete and deare unto us, we
> are beholding to the law for it...without justice...all
> kingdomes and states would bee brought to confusion
> and all humane society would be dissolved.[128]

For him, only the implementation of English law would bring about
a full reduction of Ireland to civility, for the true causes of
Irish incivility rested in the fact that for 350 years they were
"not admitted to the benefit of the laws of England".[129] He noted
"that the killing of an Irishman was not punished by our law as
manslaughter, for our laws did neither protect his life nor revenge
his death, but by a fine or pecuniary punishment".[130] In saying
this, he was not only lamenting that the laws of England had not
been applied to Ireland, but he was also condemning the Irish
Brehon law (which favoured fines over physical punishment) as no
law at all. In essence, because the Irish were not admitted to the
Common Law, their customs, according to Davies, had grown to such a

barbarous state that Ireland had to be first wholly subdued and
"broken by war" before civil government could be established and be-
fore the land could be "well planted and governed".[131] He set
about to demonstrate that the Irish did not deserve the "dignity of
a body politic",[132] for by the nature of their customs

> the people...must of necessity be rebels to all good
> government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live,
> and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest
> and most fruitful land of the world.[133]

He claimed, therefore, that the king was "bound in conscience to use
all lawful and just courses to reduce his people from barbarism
to civility".[134] In essence, he lamented that, in the past, Irish-
men had no protection under English law; yet because the very
nature of their customs was antithetical to that law, those customs
had to be first willfully destroyed before civility could flourish.
Although he was quick to point out that, in this process, the
government did not intend to extirpate the Irish, he had effectively
provided a justification for just that.

For many Englishmen in Ireland, a legal justification for
violence was not necessary. There seemed little threat of legal
action being taken against them and the Irish who forcefully opposed
them were certainly not concerned with legal niceties. Besides
there existed ample justification from other sources. In fact, for
many Englishmen, by the seventeenth century, virtually any evil
exercised against Irishmen and their families could be rationalized
by recourse to certain legitimating norms, which, in essence,
allowed for their virtual dehumanization.

Immoderate Justifications: The Process of Dehumanization

The total dehumanization argument is long and complicated, and only rarely was it ever used in its entirety in a single work. Moryson, perhaps, comes closest to it. It is, therefore, doubtful that the Elizabethans realized the full impact of their argument, for indeed, it was never fully elucidated. Only in retrospect are we able to piece together and place into some coherent systematic framework the various justifications used and, from this evidence, to speculate upon the workings of the English mind. In this way the following categorization is an entirely artificial recreation which may or may not have been accepted by Englishmen in the sixteenth century. In the interests of further understanding it is nevertheless essential to establish some structural framework within which the justifications can achieve some cohesion.

Stereotyping

The one feature which forms the basis for all other justifications used in the Irish example is stereotyping. The arguments which legitimated evil were deeply rooted in the social and intellectual makeup of sixteenth-century Englishmen and their actions were carried out and rationalized by reference to and in accordance with past norms and customarily accepted behavior. Stereotyping in the medieval mode allowed for the formation of a highly prejudicial vision of Irish life, and for the permanent inculcation of that vision into the collective 'bricolage' of the English nation.

Sebastian Muenster's large 1554 English edition of Cosmography contributed a single paragraph to the Irish. They were, he concluded, "voyde of hospitalitie...uncivill and cruel, and therefore unapt for warlike affrayes".[135] If only because of the peculiar nature of medieval inquiry, such concepts, once deeply ingrained in the minds of Englishmen, were "likely to be very inpervious to modification by deliberate social policy".[136] Margaret Hodgen states of medieval and Renaissance scholarship that "legend was accepted as fact and always in preference to accurate observation and reporting".[137] She wrote that "the medieval injunction to 'guard that which has been entrusted to you.' was followed only too faithfully..." and that "Renaissance scholars who attempted to deal with the kaleidoscopic elements of human behavior found it easier to repeat than to re-examine and reformulate; to echo old judgements rather than to make new ones". Their orthodoxy served to "cushion them from criticism".[138] Muenster reflected the orthodoxy and the others followed suit. Time and time again one finds the same descriptions, the same quotations, and often in the same words--the Irish are slothful, the Irish hate work, they are idolatrous, promiscuous, wild, ignorant, and generally barbaric.[139] Moryson quotes Campion, Rich quotes Stanihurst...the list goes on and on. One even finds the Irish being used as a standard of savagery and often by those without experience in Ireland. George Turberville wrote of the Russians in 1587:

> Wild Irish are as civil as the Russies, in their kind,
> Hard choice which is best of both, each bloody, rude,
> and blind.[140]

Although opinions vary and contradictions are common,[141] the

message is ultimately the same. As Moryson concludes:

> not only in lodging passangers, not at all or
> most rudely, but even in their hospitality to-
> wards them, these wild Irish are not much unlike
> to wild beasts, in whose caves a beast passing
> that way might perhaps find meat, but not without
> danger to be ill-entertained, perhaps devoured
> of his insatiable host.[142]

Or as Thomas Churchyard so eloquently put it:

> The sons of shame and children of Gods wrath,
> With wolfish minds like breechless bears they go;
> Through woods and bogs and many a crooked path:
> Lying like dogs, in litter dung and straw,
>   Rude as brute beasts that know no rule or law.
> Fostered from faith, and fear of God and man,
>   Unlearned, untaught of any graces good,
> Nursed up in vice where falsehood first began.[143]

And Moryson again:

> For four vile beasts Ireland hath no fence,
> their bodyes lice, their houses Ratts possesse
> Most wicked Preists governe their conscience,
> and ravening Woolves wast their fields no lesse.[144]

Such stereotyping only served to remove from the English mental

framework any reference to Irishmen as individuals. In this way,

it contributed to their depersonalization, the first step towards

dehumanization. What we see in this negative description of the

Irish people is the misperception of them as members of a single

homogeneous entity, devoid of personal attibutes and entirely

predictable. Such are the psychodynamics of group prejudice.[145]

Stereotyping, therefore, allowed Englishmen to make a clear

distinction between what was Irish and what was English--between

'savagery' and 'civility'. In essence, it provided those socially

accepted norms which Englishmen used to declare Irishmen barbaric.

For the Elizabethans, that distinction between barbarism and civility was "a moral sanction rather than any given combination of social traits susceptible to objective definition".[146] As W.R. Jones states:

> The antithesis which opposed civilization to barbarism was a highly useful cliche, and one which served equally well as a means of self-congratulation as a rationalization for aggression.[147]

English description, therefore, became "a weapon of attack rather than a standard of measurement".[148]

Dechristianization

The act of declaring Irishmen uncivil allowed Englishmen to move one step further in their complex process of dehumanization; to the inevitable dechristianization of the Irish. I say inevitable not only because religion was so strong in the psychological make-up of Englishmen in the sixteenth century, but because the English view of civility made it impossible for the Irish to be Christian. After the Reformation, it was not enough that the Irish were Roman Catholics, it was necessary that they be declared pagan. The peculiar nature of Irish Catholicism made this very much easier. Edmund Campion, in his History of Ireland (1571), devoted several pages to Irish religious superstitions and ignorance:

> In some corners of the land they used a damnable superstition leaving the right arms of Infants males unchristened (as they tearmed it) to the in- tent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow.[149]

He describes how an Irish gentleman who came to a priest desiring to confess had to be instructed that murder was indeed a sin.

> the Priest demaunded him, whether hee were fault in
> the sinne of Homicide? Hee answered, that hee never
> wist the matter to be haynous before, but being in-
> structed thereof, hee confessed the murther of five,
> the rest he left wounded, so as he knew not whether
> they lived or no.[150]

Even though he was a strong Catholic and could be expected to be
more lenient towards the Irish, Campion wrote that among the wilder
sort of Irish he found

> neither divine service nor any form of Chapelle...
> no Alters at all...the Missal or Masse booke all
> torne. I cannot tell whether the wilder sort of
> Irishry yeeld divine honour unto the moone for
> when they see her first after the change, commonly
> the bow the knee, and say the Lord's prayer...The
> shoulder blade bone of a sheep...they use to look
> through, and thereby foretell of some corse short-
> ly to be carried out of the house.[151]

Barnabe Rich commented on the Irishman's

> madde manner of fasting, that marcheth in equal manner,
> with theft, with murder, with Treason, with drunkeness,
> with whoredom, and with all manner of Sodometry?[152]

He wonders what type of religion would allow a 'kern' or ale-
house-keeper ("beastly, filthy" women in his opinion) to be holier
than the Pope three times a week, and spoil, rob, ravish, and mur-
der for the next four.[153] A Palesman, in 1572, felt that "the
'outward behavyor' of the Irish made it 'seeme' that 'they neyther
love nor dredd God nor yet hate the Devell, they are superstycyous
and worshippers of images and open idolators'",[154] and Edmund
Tremayne determined that the Irish were neither "Papists nor Pro-
testants but rather such as have nether fear nor love of God in
their harts that restraineth them from ill".[155] Edmund Spenser
summed up perfectly the Elizabethan view of Irish religion when he
wrote:

> They are all Papists by their profession, but in
> the same so blindly and brutishly informed for the
> most part as that you would rather think them as
> atheists or infidels.[156]

As mentioned above, it was impossible for the Irish to be

declared fully Christian. This was because of the peculiar con-

nection that Englishmen made between Christianity and civility.

For them, "a people could be civilized without being Christian

(the Greeks and Romans were prime examples) but not christianized

without first being made civil...to admit that the native Irish

were Christian would, therefore, have been to acknowledge them as

divilized also".[157] To have acknowledged their civility, would

have made the English into conquerers of a civilized, Christian

people, and would have also effectively put the blame for any

violence squarely on English shoulders. It was, therefore, impera-

tive that the Irish be considered pagan. It was then only logical

that before they could be christianized they had to be made civil,

and this invariably meant through the use of force. As Spenser

wrote:

> it is expedient first to settle such a course of
> government there, as thereby both civil disorders
> and ecclesiastical abuses may be reformed and am-
> mended...Instruction in religion needeth quiet
> times, and ere we seek to settle a sound discipline
> in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity.[158]

Since he believed that "it is in vain to speak of planting of laws

and plotting of policies til they be altogether subdued", such peace

could only be purchased at the end of a sword.[159] Essex realized

this when he said that once the Irish had been compelled to obedience

"they would be easily brought to be of good religion".[160]

Once the Irish were declared pagan, no argument against their destruction could possibly apply, for it would be no more a sin to kill them than it would be to kill an animal. Gilbert's jejune description of his atrocities, as illustrated above,[161] stands as a perfect example. Dechristianization, therefore, formed a key link in the process of compartmentalization--that is the erection of psychological barriers between normally related mental phenomena.[162] The English combined dechristianization with a form of highly negative stereotyping, to make the Irish both pagan and uncivilized. In this way, they were allowed to erect a barrier between their own conscientious moral objections and the act of violence itself, and thereby effectively remove all the mental barriers to a guilt-free massacre.[163] Thus, the dehumanizing process was complete and all that remained was to declare it.

Dehumanization

We have already seen Churchyard and Moryson likening the Irish to animals;[164] what better way to stress their inhumanity? Lord Deputy Sidney wrote in 1567, "matrimony among them is no more regarded than conjugation between unreasonable beasts",[165] and Sir John Davies noted that in their warring nature "they were little better than cannibals, who do hunt one another, and he that hath most strength and swiftness doth eat and devour his followers".[166] Cannibalism seems to have been a clear indicator of inhumanity. But, whereas Davies merely likens the Irish to cannibals, Sidney and Moryson go even further and supply actual examples. Sidney wrote of the state of Munster when he took office in 1566:

> Out of every corner of the woods and glans they
> (the Irish) came creeping forth upon their hands,
> for their legs could not bear them; they looked
> like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts
> crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead
> carrions;...yea they did eat one another soon
> after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared
> not to drag out of their graves.[167]

And Moryson wrote:

> we read of horrors seen by Sir Arthur Chichester,
> Sir Richard Moryson...in their return homeward at
> the end of March 1603: 'Three children (whereof
> the eldest was not above ten years old) all eating
> and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their
> dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty
> days past, and having eaten all from the feet up-
> ward to the bare bones, roasting it continually
> by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her
> said entrails in like sort roasted, yet not divided
> from the body, being as yet raw.[168]

Results of the Dehumanization Process: Violence

The major result of this entire dehumanization process was,

of course, violence. We see Essex slaughtering 200 Irish men and

women at a Christmas feast in 1574 after feeling that he was being

frustrated by the queen's restraining directives.[169] We see

Edward Barkley, a lieutenant of the same expedition, give "a

graphic description of how they had driven the Irish from the plains

into the woods where they would freeze or famish with the onset

of winter, and (conclude) with the smug observation 'how godly a

deed it is to overthrowe so wicked a race the world may judge: for

my part I think there cannot be a greater sacryfice to God'".[170]

It was only through an extensive process of dehumanization that we

are able to see Barnabe Rich half-jokingly, half-seriously proposing

the castration of the entire ingracious lot,[171] or to see the

massacre of loyal Irish at Mullamast--Irish who had remained in
confederacy with the Crown, who were summoned by the English under
the pretext of being required for military service, surrounded,
and slaughtered "without mercy".[172] On the Irish side we see
O'Sullivan Beare, with a proper mixture of revenge and religion,
proclaiming with pride the killing of English settlers:

> O'Donnell, remembering the cruelty with which the
> English had thrown women, old men and children from
> the bridge at Enniskillen, with all his forces invaded
> Connacht, which Richard Bingham was holding oppressed
> under heretical typranny...he destroyed the English
> colonists and settlers, put them to flight, and slew
> them, sparing no male between fifteen and sixty years
> old who was unable to speak Irish.[173]

It is plain to see that once the Irish were declared subhuman
(and the English, heretics) any atrocity could take place with
impunity. "Conscience and empathy, as sources of guilt and com-
passion, pertain to human beings; they can be evaded if the human
element is first sufficiently obscured".[174] So, in effect, de-
humanization "facilitate(d) the tolerating of mass destruction
through bypassing those psychic inhibitions against the taking of
human life", for those inhibitions were not operative once those
destroyed were no longer, by definition, human.[175]

Moral and Cultural Superiority

Another result of the dehumanizing process was the reinforce-
ment in the English mind of a strong sense of moral and cultural
superiority. George De Vos writes that

> it is difficult for men in dominant positions to
> avoid feelings of possible retribution from ex-
> ploited segments of their own society...the greater

> the exploitation of subordinate groups, the greater
> the social need to maintain external symbols of
> status differentiation.[176]

W.R. Jones applied this form of argument to medieval Europe when

he remarked: "The image of the barbarian, whatever its historical

context...was the invention of civilized man who thereby expressed

his own strong sense of cultural and moral superiority".[177]

Such an argument seems to have also applied to England in the six-

teenth century. Once violent acts were perpetrated and exchanged

in Ireland, we can plainly see the further strengthening of

barriers designed to distinguish and separate the two nations. For

Barnabe Rich, England's moral supremacy was clearly understood when

he remarked:

> For I think, that if these people (the Irish) did
> once understand the pretiousness of vertue, they
> would farre exceed us; notwithstanding, our long
> experience in the sovereignty of vertue.[178]

and the title of a 1618 work by Thomas Gainsford is equally reveal-

ing:

> The Glory of England; or a true description of the
> many excellent prerogatives and remarkable blessings,
> whereby she triumpheth over all the nations in the
> world. With a justifiable comparison between herself
> and the eminent kingdoms of the earth...[179]

The description of Ireland was, in essence, a means whereby the

glories of England could be fully revealed.

Any direct relationship between the English and the Irish was

not condoned, and when contact could not be prevented, it was em-

phasized that such contact was not between equals. This was

accomplished by automatically condemning any and all Irish acts as

barbarous without question, and by laughing at them. A perfect

example is Moryson's description of "plowing by tail":

> The Irish used no harness or traces for horses
> drawing in the plough or drawing sledges with
> carriage, but only fastened the plough and the
> carriage by writhes, to the tails of the horses
> (or garrans for so they call them), whereby the
> tails of them are commonly pulled off, and the
> rumps bared.[180]

Actually "plowing by tail" was a unique process designed to

prevent rocks from damaging the plowshare and the Irish only used

it in circumstances where their heavier plows, which were pulled

by harnessed horses, were unsuitable.[181] For Moryson, however,

such a practice could have no value. Elsewhere he was to make

light of the ease with which Irishmen divorced their wives:

> I could name a great lord among them, who
> credibly reported to have put away his wife
> of a good family and beautiful, only for a
> fault as light as wind (which the Irish in
> general abhor), but I dare not name it, lest
> I offend the perfumed senses of some whose
> censure I have incurred in that kind.[182]

By laughing in this way, the Elizabethans sought to show that they

held none of the Irish customs to be of any value to them whatso-

ever,[183] and this effectively destroyed any hope there may have

been for future reconciliation. For the English, their incessant

search for something to condemn, when combined with the necessary

repetition of old condemnations, ultimately led to even less of an

understanding of the Irish. They were, therefore, never able to

learn that the transmission of civility from one society to another

entailed more than merely a forced conformity. Henry VIII

realized this when he claimed, in 1520, that a military conquest of

Ireland would "bring the Irishry in apparaunce donely of obei-

saunce",[184] but, for the Elizabethans, it seemed only natural that

a people as barbaric and uncivil as the Irish should be easily
brought under their control. That they continually failed did
not increase English respect--their sense of superiority would never
allow it--but merely English hatred.[185] Such stifled aggression
could only lead to more and more violence.

Their inordinate sense of moral and cultural supremacy would
also never allow the English to concede error or admit fault. In
June of 1573, at approximately the same time that Sir John Perrott
was leaving hundreds hanging on the gibbets of Munster,[186] Sir
Edward Fitton wrote: "But God's will be done, who help this poor
land, for the misery whereof we Englishmen are not in the least
guilty".[187] Patrick O'Farrell writes that

> (the) narrowly political construction (the English)
> put on their dealings with Ireland had the auto-
> matic effect of placing the Irish in the wrong...
> given the axiomatic purity of English good in-
> tentions (that the purpose of all governments is
> to govern effectively) the inescapable fact that
> Ireland was ill-governed could be attributed only
> to the Irish and their deliberate frustrations of
> (English) good intentions.[188]

The English rationale was thus: The Irish possessed an intense
hatred of English government, a government which enshrined all
the ideals of civilization--law and order, liberty, and prosperity.
Since they rejected it, the Irish were culpable by definition, for
they effectively made the governing of Ireland impossible. When
this was combined with the belief that the Irish were idle, lazy,
filthy, and barbaric, it is easy to see why the Elizabethans would
never admit to error. Since Irish ways were naturally antithetical
to all good government, their reaction to England "as the hated

oppressor seemed incredibly perverse and irresponsible, indeed a crime against England".[189] The English writers had, therefore, managed to base their nationalism on gaelic fault and, in this way, make any Irish rebellion appear as a crime against the English state. It only stood to reason that, for some, the destruction of each Irish man, woman, and child represented a blow for England, and it became a patriotic duty to kill Irish.[190]

The 'Civilizing' Mission

To decree Irish reaction as a crime against England was one argument which allowed the English to legitimate indiscriminate killing, but it did little to justify their actual presence in Ireland. The old argument that the Irish, living under the tyranny of their lords, were crying out for English law and civility,[191] simply no longer applied, and the conversion of the Irish to the 'true' religion, though a glorious motive, did not quite have the cosmic impact that a nation with the magnitude of England deserved. If it could be decreed patriotic to kill Irishmen in defence of England, how much more glorious it would be if that violence could become part of a grand civilizing enterprise on the same scale as that of the Roman conquests. This is exactly what many of them proposed. Sir Thomas Smith "asserted 'that God did make apt and prepare this nation....to inhabite and reforme so barbarous a nation as that is, and to bring them to the knowledge and lawe were both a goodly and commendable deed, and a sufficient work of our age', adding that it was England's civic duty to educate the Irish

brutes 'in vertuous labor and in justice, and to teach them our English lawes and civilitie and leave robbyng and stealing and killing one of another'".[192] The support this argument one continually finds references to how the Romans brought the Britons into civility and that the English should do the same for the Irish.[193] Such arguments tend to suggest that Englishmen were developing a sense of cultural genesis: the belief that societies will evolve over time and are in a continuous state of evolution. England, in this case, had simply evolved at a faster rate-than had Ireland and was consequently seen as being at a higher stage of evolution.[194] This, however, is only partially true.

Medieval scholarship lacked a sense of progress. They seemed to have little notion that a society could evolve with time--that a society 'naturally' evolved. People described by Greeks and Romans "were still referred to as possessing living, functioning cultures, their habits unchanged, their habitats unmodified". There was no notion that these people might no longer even exist.[195] Therefore, the iconography of the Middle Ages portrayed

> arrested types of human beings, represented over the
> passing centuries as performing unvarying ceremonies,
> in unvarying costumes and with unvarying characteristics.
> Medieval anthropogeography in this sense was tough
> mental stuff, so often repeated, so durable, so satis-
> fying, that by the time of the Renaissance many of
> its preconceptions had been accepted as received ex-
> perience, and were employed, to the confusion of thought,
> in the interpretation of the new peoples of the New World.[196]

Ireland was a part of this New World.

English Renaissance scholarship showed little advance in this area. Societies were still very much seen as entities which re-

mained unchanged over the centuries. I do not believe that there
is any strong evidence to suggest that the sixteenth-century
Englishman saw himself as existing in an evolving world. I do,
however, find evidence to suggest that he didn't.

During the Renaissance, one of the most important areas of
study was that of the law. J.G.A. Pocock believes that "the
historical outlook which arose in each nation was in part a product
of its law",[197] and that English historical thought suffered under
the limitation of "having been compelled to contemplate the national
past through one system of law alone".[198] For sixteenth-century
Englishmen, those alternate systems of law which had, in fact, con-
tributed to the actual development of the Common Law, were not
available for study. Consequently they were of the firm belief that
their Common Law had grown from "the Common Custome of the Realm",[199]
and that it was, therefore, as immemorial as was that custom. For
English historians, then, the Common Law had always been England's
law and had remained unchanged to their very day. "This by it-
self encouraged them to interpret the past as if it had been
governed by the law of their own day".[200] In this definition there
was no room for the concept of a 'naturally' evolving society.

However, Renaissance thinking did reveal some definite changes.
If the concept of a naturally developing culture was non-existent,
the idea that a society could progress and improve was definitely
there. Francis Bacon wrote words to the effect that "the Irish
were too savage to accept the reformed religion which reflected a
superior level of civilization",[201] and those writing on Ireland

were of the firm opinion that they were 'improving' Ireland by
'reducing' her to English civility. Therefore, the concept that
two states of civility could exist and that England was at a higher
state of civility than was Ireland, was almost certainly accepted
by Elizabethan writers. However, the means whereby England achieved
that advanced state was not through a process of natural development
but rather through a forcible reduction from barbarism at the
time of the Roman conquest. This was the Elizabethan view. If
Sir Thomas Smith had possessed a sense of natural cultural evolu-
tion, his argument that the Irish were in need of an English exam-
ple in order to achieve proper civility[202] would have made little
sense, for why would Ireland have need of England if it could
achieve civility on its own accord. I believe that it was that
medieval lack of a sense of evolution, still applicable to the
sixteenth-century authors, that made it difficult for them to
envisage an Ireland as different from that of the stereotype.
Therefore, since Irish society could not, in their opinion, change
on its own accord, it needed the help of England; hence the Roman
parallels were invoked.[203]

T.W. Moody, in an article concerning Sir Thomas Phillips of
Limavady, a common servitor in Ireland, portrays accurately the
typical English attitudes towards the Irish. He reveals in his
description of this single man the attitudes of an entire genera-
tion. We find stereotyping, nationalism, a bit of the 'grand
civilizing' theme, as well as dechristianization--the total
Elizabethan. For Sir Thomas

the Irish were a people sunken in barbarism, whom
the English had a divine right to expropriate and to
rule. He saw himself as a pioneer of civilization in
a land of savages. The Catholic religion to him was
mere superstition, its priests children of Satan...
he never relaxed, never ceased to be conscious that
the Irish around him were enemies, and nothing but
constant vigilance could save the British colony
from eventual disaster.[204]

CHAPTER IV

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH GENTRY

We have seen that the political and religious situation facing
Englishmen by the mid-century necessitated a harsher policy--a
policy which caused violence of an extreme nature--and resulted in
the need for extensive justification. It is here that the funda-
mental shift in mentality becomes most apparent. One must ask why
the English writers felt a need to legitimate their violent policies
in a manner so much more complex than did their Irish counterparts,
for, as we have seen, their justifications involved an intricate
network of legal, philosophical, political, and religious arguments
as well as the stereotyping, dechristianizing, and ultimate dehuman-
izing of the Irish people. The Irish, it seems, had no need for
extensive legitimating agents. One must ask why, for the English
commentators, religion was not sufficient justification in itself,
for in medieval times and for sixteenth-century Irishmen "not
only was religion an acceptable sanction for conquest, it was the
only unarguably proper one".[205] The answers partially lie in a
closer examination of the difference between Irish and English
religious mentalities.

Religion in Ireland and in England operated on two distinct
mental planes. For the Irish mentality everything was viewed "in
terms of heaven and hell...there was no world of the neutral affairs
of men. Eternity cast its light--or glare--into the ante-room of
daily life, colouring all that was there".[206] The Irish were not
rebelling simply over the religious aspects of Edwardian and

Elizabethan policy, for, if that were so, there would have been little to rebel over. But they also rebelled over the political, social, and economic aspects of that policy. However, in the Irish mind, religion determined all, so that every political act was also a religious act and every act of economic and social importance was likewise reacted to on the basis of its religious efficacy. It would be a mistake to carry such an argument too far for the Irish were by no means unanimous in their outlook. There were certainly those in Ireland who had different views on religion. However, with respect to Irish violence in the sixteenth century such an argument seems to apply--religion was the only justification needed. Virtually all the Irish rebellions after the English Reformation had some evident basis in religion.[207] T.W. Moody writes that "resistance to English authority became inseparable from the cause of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland, and the rebellions in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign took on the character of religious wars...".[208] The Reformation and, perhaps more than anything else, the destruction of sacred symbols, spurred the Irish into violent reaction. During the destruction of the monasteries the English were described by Irish annalists as having

> burned the images, shrines, and relics of the saints
> of Ireland and England; they likewise burned the celebrated
> image of Mary at Trim, which used to perform
> wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind,
> the deaf, the crippled, and persons affected with all
> kinds of diseases...though great was the persecution
> of the Roman Emperors against the Church, scarcely
> had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome
> as this.[209]

And in 1552 the church at Kieren was looted by English soldiers

and related to Irishmen by their annalists thus:

> There was not left, moreover, a bell, small or large,
> an image, or an altar, or a book, or a gem, or even
> glass in a window, from the wall of the church out,
> which was not carried off.[210]

Such incidents only served to confirm the arguments of the Jesuit

preists, that the English were in league with Satan and represented

everything that was despicable. With each new atrocity, an under-

current of Irish violence and vengeance was molded into a deep-set

religious hatred with the Counter-Reformation as its focal point.

It was, in essence, a form of religious nationalism which the Irish

bards and Jesuit priests continually reasserted:

> May we never taste of death nor quit this vale of tears
> Until we see the English go begging down the years,
> Packs on their back to earn a penny pay
> In little leaking boots, as we went in our day.
>
> Time has o'erthrown, the wind has blown away
> Alastair, Caesar, such great names as they--
> See Troy and Tara where in grass they lie--
> Even the very English might yet die![211]

For this reason, the influence of Roman Catholicism in Ireland did

not weaken under English force; the pressure only drove the Irish

further under the influence of the papacy. Their religion, in

effect, became the only agency capable of commanding nation-wide

allegiance and of, therefore, successfully counteracting the force

of "self-interested English domination".[212] In fact, "a total

Irish identity...was finding, under coercive pressure, its strong-

est and most coherent expression in Catholicism".[213] Therefore,

for the Irish, Protestantism, and consequently England, was

directly linked with Satan. The Anglican service was dubbed "the

devil's service" and a contemporary Irish historian recorded that
when Sir John Norris, Lord General of Ireland, died in 1597, the
devil had come to collect his soul which Norris had promised to
him.[214] In the same way, Captain Ward, who served with Sir Humphrey
Gilbert, wrote that Gilbert was so noted for severity that "they
accounting him more like a devil than a man, and are so afraid of
him that they did leave and give up 26 castles...I think that they
will not defend any castles against him".[215]

The Irish view of the English Reformation and all that it
entailed was, therefore, that

> a new heresy and a new error (had arisen) in
> England through pride, vainglory, avarice, and
> lust, and through many strange sciences, so that
> the men of England went into opposition to the
> Pope and to Rome.[216]

Thus, as far as the Irish were concerned, the English, once
they were heretics, had no moral claim to power.

The English response to the Counter-Reformation was not a
counter-religious argument, but a political one. In the "evolution
of the English mind, there was a strong tendency both to subordinate
religion to politics, and to separate them altogether".[217] This
made it extremely difficult for the Anglican Church to operate with
any degree of effectiveness in Ireland. For Englishmen, after a
brief period of support at the mid-century, the Church became merely
another department of the State and, in 1574, one official even
proposed that in the future, bishoprics should be given to soldiers.[21]
Such tendencies in English thought not only failed "to allow for
the thinking of a people who accepted no such subordination or

separation, (but) it also contrived to depict religious declarations as a sham".[219] For example, in 1611, Sir George Carew stated that rebellion of the Irish would take place "under the veil of religion and liberty", and a 1607 proclamation of James I stated that religion was "a cloak that serves too much in these days to cover many evil intentions".[220] So, in essense, England was attempting to conquer Irish spiritual force with temporal power, and all it succeeded in doing was to drive the Irish resistance further into the realm of the spiritual, even to the point of creating a cult of martyrdom.[22]

Therefore, after the Reformation, the Irish could not view the conflict in political terms, for their view of the world of politics was one which placed the Church at the centre of all authority. They could not see the extension of English control in Ireland as anything but the invasion of a foreign religion. The English, on the other hand, could not view the Irish allegiance to the Pope as anything but an allegiance to a foreign Prince. Hence, each thought out and formulated ideas on two different intellectual planes and it was inconceivable that they should meet.[222] Thus, religious violence led to hatred which only led to more violence, and every action committed by one side merely reaffirmed the position of the other.

As a result of this subordination of religion to politics, the English writers appeared to be very doubtful as to the efficacy of not only their violent policies, but also their very presence in Ireland. The purely religious argument no longer fully sufficed and the English were consequently in need of continuous reassurance

and moral support.   As Patrick O'Farrell writes:

> England's failure to contest the religious future in
> Ireland on ethical grounds, or indeed on any other
> ground than that of coersion, amounted to an abdication
> of any moral claim to governing authority.[223]

As a result of their constant failure to convert the Irish to any
form of civility, religious or otherwise, and after numerous
examples of poor Irish showing their hatred and disdain for Eng-
lish ways of life,[224] all the old arguments with which Henrician
Englishmen had justified their presence in Ireland, gradually lost
their validity.   Ireland had rejected England and the old argument
that the poor oppressed Irish were begging for the English to reform
them, no longer applied.   It simply was not true.[225]   However, the
English gentry seemed loath to face the brutal realities of their
situation and admit that they were justifying their activities
purely by right of conquest and not through some humanitarian
civilizing principles.   They, therefore, needed some other method
of justifying their violent acts in Ireland.   It is for this reason
that we find such a proliferation of arguments which emphasized
the negative aspects of Irish life; their barbarism, their total
incivility, their 'natural' slothfulness, and eventually their
paganism and inhumanity.   They felt obliged to go to extreme len-
gths to formulate secular arguments designed to sooth their injured
sense of moral integrity.   Thus, as the conquest of Ireland became
more difficult, new arguments to legitimate the struggle were ad-
vanced.   The fundamental question, however, is why non-religious
arguments were needed at all.   It is probable that one origin of
this secularization of English thought--for this subordination of

religion to politics--lies in the English Reformation. W. Gordon
Zeeveld writes that "the declaration of royal supremacy was the most
far reaching event in terms of the history of ideas in the Tudor
period".[226] Its consequences for Ireland were to be equally phen-
omenal.

In England, the renaissance in secular political thought was
carried forth in the wake of a new humanist tradition--a tradition
created and spurred on by a religious jurisdictional controversy.
Henry VIII, in need of a justification for his own supremacy, soli-
cited men of learning--men whose first allegiance was to the Crown
and to England rather than to a universalist Catholic religious
doctrine.[227] Humanists, mostly obscure scholars--Starkey, Harvel,
Morrison, and others from the Padua school--were called upon to
find a justification for the English Reformation and for the royal
supremacy. These were men who "regarded the papal recession as a
vindication of traditional English liberties. Henry's cause was
their cause, and England...was the major stake; the major issue...
was national independance".[228] They deliberately transcended
religious doctrinal disputes to concentrate on two seemingly con-
tradictory ideas: tradition and the 'renaissance' of classical
forms of "good living".[229] For our purposes the importance of this
lies not so much in these ideas themselves but in their secular
nature. "The animating and persistent force of the humanists who
formulated English policy in the sixteenth century", and who
directly affected England's Irish policy, "was their fundamental
liberalism" and, I might add, their obvious lack of religiosity.[230]

Gone were the past all-pervasive religious justifications--justi-
fications no longer fully operative in the new intellectual cli-
mate. The humanists

> accepted the royal supremacy as an established
> fact and turned their efforts to providing it
> with a logical and historical 'raison d'etre'.
> The question for them was not the morality, but
> the legality of the supremacy.[231]

Actually the government had no choice but to liberalize the intell-
ectual climate of the country, because it could no longer rely
upon orthodox religious theology to affirm it position of authority.
Alternate forms of justification were essential, just as they were
in the Irish example. Humanists took up their challenge as a na-
tionalistic enterprise so that for them the Reformation became
a mark of English sovereignty. As we have seen, this applied
directly to Ireland where religion became "a badge of conquest",[232]
an assertion of English political sovereignty.

It was, therefore, the need to transcend religious doctrinal
justifications that called forth a change in English intellectual
patterns of thought. Humanists were, in essence, forced to separ-
ate religious and political ideas[233] and in the process established
a pattern seen in the diversity of justifications used for Ireland.
Although there seems to have been no direct link between the Refor-
mation scholars and those who wrote on Ireland, the former are
important because they began a process of seclarization which was
to significantly influence the Elizabethan justifications for vio-
lence. After 1550, those commenting on Ireland continued the argu-
mentive process first established by humanists in the reign of

Henry VIII--a process which favoured legal, nationalistic, and political arguments over that of religion. Ireland was the victim of these nationalistic, secularizing, reactions in English thought throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century.

For Ireland, therefore, the major importance of this English phenomena was the changes it wrought in the mental evolution of the English gentry. It was the changing intellectual climate, brought about in large part by the Reformation, that allowed intelligent Elizabethans to transcend the mental barriers imposed by an all-pervasive religious mentality and achieve a different, though not necessarily a higher, state of intellectual formulation. Once Englishmen had been forced to wholly legitimate their spiritual acts (ie. the royal supremacy) by secular arguments, religion, as the critical foundation of their thought, was seriously challenged. Religion could no longer serve as the ultimate justification. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, therefore, many English commentators on Ireland were forced to formulate extensive secular arguments to justify violence against their religious enemies because the spiritual basis of their thought had been undermined by the effects of the Reformation. With a comparison between Irish and English mentalities, this phenomena becomes fully apparent.

Modern day men make use of masquerades to justify recreant acts, but consciously realize that under other circumstances their deeds may be declared as evil. The very reason that they seek a rationalization for their actions denotes this fact. The extraordinary violence involved in a wholesale massacre, forms a grey area in an otherwise black and white, good and evil situation.

To declare an enemy society evil does not necessarily require a moral justification, but to massacre its women and children is clearly another matter. Such an action exceeds the normal psychological limits of society, and directly conflicts with the community's collective sense of moral integrity. Therefore, some rationalization is essential--a rationalization which, in effect, legitimizes evil-doing without recourse to morality and divorces violence from the realm of conscience. Thus, once evil is removed from the realm of morality it can no longer be judged by normal ethical standards, and all psychological restrictions to acts of extreme cruelty will be effectively removed.

The sixteenth-century Irishman did not have this modern ability, for he could not as yet fully divorce his secular actions from his moral conscience and thereby justify his violence without recourse to morality. The identification of all aspects of life with religious morality made the conception of a purely secular sphere of life--a sphere void of religious probity, conscience, and ultimate judgement before God--virtually impossible. Whereas modern man makes a conscious decision not to apply normal ethical restraints to violent acts in order to justify them, sixteenth-century Irishmen were not able to do so, for they were still by and large unable to distinguish clearly between the religious, moral, and ethical sphere of life, and that which we would label as secular. Hence, for the Irish, no grey area existed; every act was termed either good or evil based on its religious nature. Therefore, in order to do considerable evil against Englishmen, no explicit moral justification was needed, it was understood. Once

the English were declared heretics any further legitimation for violence perpetrated against them was unnecessary, and nor is it found. [234]

The English writers, however, viewed the situation from a totally different intellectual perspective. Although religion and politics were still strongly bound, each mutually supportive of the other, the English mind could, much more clearly than the Irish, make a distinction between the secular and the spiritual realms. [235] This means that whereas the Irish were unable to conceive of the possibility that their violence could be wrong without drawing their entire system of belief into question, the English could be and were plagued with doubts as to the efficacy of their actions. In other words, when one has totally combined the sanction of religious morality with physical action, as did the Irish, there is no possibility that that action can be declared morally wrong, simply because, in this sense, no action can be devoid of morality. However, with the divorcing of religious morality from physical acts of voilence, as in the case of England, the possibility exists that those acts can deviate from that morality. One has, in essence, created alternate systems of reference, which, in the case of sixteenth-century England, had the twofold effect of casting doubt where there had previously been no doubt, and of allowing for the expansion of intellectual capacities such as to permit Englishmen to draw upon concepts hitherto inconceivable.

Simply because many of theEnglish gentry were at a different stage of mental evolution did not necessarily mean that they were more intelligent. A distinction must be made between the concept

of 'progress' and that of 'improvement'. If one approaches the
Anglo-Irish struggle with the attitude that what is civilized is
necessarily good and what is 'savage' must be bad, one immediately
adopts the philological and inherent mental categorizations of the
dominent 'civilizing' force...in this case the English. We must
drop the assumption that 'civilizing' necessarily denotes moral
improvement and that the society being civilized is or was somehow
backward. What I am saying is that the Irish were merely using a
different epistemological framework, every bit as sound as that of
the English, but simply belonging to an older tradition.[236] Though
for some radical Protestants the purely religious difference would
suffice to vindicate their extreme measures in Ireland, most
Elizabethan writers, as we have seen, found a need for more ex-
tensive justifications based upon civility, law, justice, conquest,
and ultimately the very nature of humanity.

CONCLUSION

The sixteenth century was the most important era in the history of Anglo-Irish relations. In this century, large numbers of Englishmen confronted the Irish for the first time, and formulated attitudes and policies on the basis of that confrontation which were to determine the future state of relations for centuries to come. In retrospect it appears almost inevitable that that meeting would be hostile, for in the final analysis 'civilization' has always triumphed over 'savagery'. But this is perhaps the wrong approach. What was seen in Ireland was not so much a confrontation of civility versus barbarism, but a confrontation between two distinct cultures, each possessing disparate and equally valid systems of intellectual formulation. Prior to the English Reformation and the turmoil of the mid-century, English and Irish could fully comprehend the motives and aspirations of each other, and base their policies upon clearly understood principles.[237] Such was not the case in the later sixteenth century. Differences in religious mentality spawned differences in mental formulation and each nation was to carve its own path independently, each firm in its belief in the efficacy of its cause. So perhaps it was inevitable that England and Ireland would meet with weapons in hand, not because civilization always triumphs over barbarism, but because, in this case, the 'civilized' and the 'barbaric' lacked the ability to communicate on the same intellectual plane.

NOTES

[1] Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, (1598-99), p. 300. Hereinafter referred to as C.S.P. Ire. Also see C.E. Maxwell, Irish History from Contemporary Sources 1509-1610 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1923), pp. 211-12.

[2] C.S.P. Ire., I (1509-73), p. 535. cf. D.B. Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 126.

[3] Thomas Churchyard, "General Rehersall of Warres" quoted in N. Canny, The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976), p. 122. He went on to justify the slaughter of Irish women and children by claiming "that the killyng of theim by the sworde was the waie to kill the menne of warre by famine".

[4] See N.Z. Davis, "The Rites of Violence; Religious Riots in Sixteenth-Century France," Society and Culture in Early Modern France, by N.Z. Davis (Stanford: University Press, 1975).

[5] N. Canny, Conquest, p. 122.

[6] Quoted in W.G. Gosling, The Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1911), p. 52.

[7] Cf. N.Z. Davis, "Rites of Violence," pp. 186-87.

[8] Ibid., pp. 160, 156-57. The goal of violence in the French example was to rid the community of 'pollution'. Protestants were vessels of pollution and Catholics polluted the land with their relics. There could be no common ground.

[9] Edmund Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland ed. by W.L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1070), p. 181.

[10] See Sir James Perrott, The Chronicle of Ireland 1584-1608 ed. by H. Wood (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1933), p. vi. Ludowick Bryskett's work was entitled "A Discourse on Civil Life" (1606).

[11] Sir Peter Carew is a fine example. See E.M. Hinton, Ireland through Tudor Eyes (Philadelphia, 1935), and C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge: University Press, 1938.)

[12] Quinn, Elizabethans, pp. 109-15.

[13] Ibid., p. 125.

[14] Barnabe Rich, A New Description of Ireland (1610), p. 15.

[15] D.B. Quinn, "Henry VIII and Ireland 1509-1534", Irish Historical Studies, XII (1960), 323. Indeed, the Earl of Desmond entered into an agreement with Francis I in 1523 (at a time when England was at war with France), and again with Charles V in 1528.

[16] Ibid., pp. 322-23.

[17] M.E. James, "The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising," Past and Present, LX (1973), 49.

[18] In the sixteenth century people were not differentiated by 'race'. The term 'race' meant a biological difference, and "as long as man...was regarded as monogenetic in origin and homogeneous in descent" the term could not apply. M. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1964), p. 214.

[19] Moryson, for example, proposed that the Irish be pushed into the interior of the Island to make room for English settlers on the coast, and that "no less Cautions were to be observed for uniting them and keeping them from mixing with the other, then if these newe Colonyes were to be ledd to inhabitt among the barbarous Indians". F. Moryson, "The Commonwealth of Ireland. An Itinerary... containing his ten years travel..."(1617) in Shakespeares Europe ed. by C. Hughes (New York: B. Blom, 1967), p. 249. The seventeenth-century struggle of the Old-English to keep from being lumped with the 'mere' Irish under that single label is another example. See A. Clarke, The Old-English in Ireland (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1966).

[20] Spenser, A View, pp. 176-77.

[21] Ibid.

[22] See below, chapter IV.

[23] Great Britain, State Papers, Henry VIII, XI vols., Published under authority of His Majesty's Commission, 1830-1834, vol. II, p. 52. Hereinafter referred to as S.P. Henry VIII.

[24]S.P. Henry VIII, III, 333-34. Also see Maxwell, Irish History, p. 106.

[25]C.S.P. Ire. (1588-92), p. 205. Also see Maxwell, Irish History, p. 75.

[26]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 291. Alen to St. Leger (1537).

[27]S.P. Henry VIII, III, 27.

[28]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 173. Also see Maxwell Irish History, p. 23.

[29]Maxwell, Irish History, p.74.

[30]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 10.

[31]Fynes Moryson, "Description of Ireland 1599-1603," in Ireland under Elizabeth and James I, ed. by H. Morley (London: George Routledge, 1890), p. 419.

[32]Ibid., pp. 422-24.

[33]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 12.

[34]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 13. Accusing the Lord Deputy of corruption was not an uncommon practice. It actually became a hazard of the job in the latter half of the sixteenth century once political factions and extensive patronage networks began to grow in England. Sir Roger Wilbraham, for example, was accused of having used Her Majesty's exchequer for his own profit, of conniving with Irish barons against the queen, and of taking excess fees for his services. The charges brought against him (and endorsed by Lord Burghley) concluded with:
"He may praise God for coming into Ireland, for that hath been better to him than Gray's Inn would have been in many years...The country wish him away, for he wringeth them too much, and the people are poor, whereof he hath no consideration, but to serve his own turn". C.S.P. Ire. (1596-97), 497. As quoted in Sir Roger Wilbraham, Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham 1593-1616 ed. by H.S. Scott, 1902, p. ix. These criticisms, however, were examples of individual political rivalries and lacked the sincerity of the 1515 author who had nothing to gain, and possibly much to lose by expressing his feelings.

[35]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 10, 15.

[36]Edmund Spenser, "A Brief Note of Ireland," quoted in Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 250-52.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Sir John Davies, "A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Subdued..." (1612), in Ireland under Elizabeth and James I ed. by H. Morley (London: George Routledge, 1890), pp. 218-19.

[39]Ibid., pp. 218-19. Davies' account is much more moderate than most of his period. The greater number of authors seemed to feel obliged to praise some aspect of the Irish, usually their fighting skill or their comely appearance, but they usually limited their praise to a very few paragraphs. Some, like Moryson and Churchyard found virtually nothing of virtue in Ireland.

[40]S.P. Henry VIII, III, 348. Robert Cowley's Plan for the Reformation of Ireland (1541).

[41]Davies, "A Discovery," p. 219.

[42]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 53. Henry even "desired to abandon the Medieval system of separating the English and the Irish in Ireland, for he believed that a diversity of 'tongue, language, order and habit' kept the country divided, whereas all should be 'wholly together one body' whereof he was to be 'the only head under God'". (Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 23-4.

[43]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 43.

[44]See above, p. 1.

[45]Spenser, A View, pp. 11-12, 21, 24-5.

[46]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 52.

[47]Ibid.

[48]See Ralegh's praise for Gilbert following Sir Humphrey's death, above, p. 3, note 6.

[49]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 53.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Cf. D.G. White, "The Reign of Edward VI in Ireland," Irish Historical Studies, XIV (1965), 198.

[52]Cf. M.L. Bush, The Government Policy of Protector Somerset (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1975), p. 2. The act of garrisoning established the idea that Ireland could be controled by direct settlement of Englishmen amidst the Irish. English soldiers and potential Irish rebels, for the first time in the sixteenth century, were brought into direct and permanent contact on a day to day basis.

[53]Cf. Ibid., p. 5. Northumberland wholeheartedly continued Somerset's Irish program. See Bush, Somerset, p. 134.

[54]Quoted in White, "Edward VI," p. 206.

[55]Quoted in P. O'Farrell, Ireland's English Question (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1973), p. 29.

[56]Quoted in White, "Edward VI," pp. 201-202.

[57]Ibid., p. 200.

[58]See Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 27,128-29. It is interesting to note that Henry distributed the confiscated monastic lands equally among the Old-English and the Irish lords.

[59]R.D. Edwards, "Ireland, Elizabeth I, and the Counter-Reformation," in Elizabethan Government and Society, ed. by S. Bindoff (London: Athlone Press, 1961), p. 320.

[60]R.D. Edwards, Church and State in Tudor Ireland (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1935), p. 126.

[61]Ibid.

[62]R. Bagwell, Ireland Under the Tudors Vol. I (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1885-90), pp. 380-81. Also see M. MacCurtain, Tudor and Stuart Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972) for radicalism of Bale and Goodacre.

[63]Quoted in Edwards, Church and State, p. 131.

[64]"Conciliation, coersion, and the protestant reformation," G. A. Hayes McCoy, in A New History of Ireland, ed. by T.W. Moody et. al. (Oxford: C. Larendon Press, 1976), pp. 73-74.

[65]Edwards, Church and State, pp. 139-40. In 1551 Croft staged a public debate (on the question of religious reform) between Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, and Staples, Bishop of Meath, in the hope of reaching some compromise. Leland suggests that Croft was attempting "to labour by persuasion and address, to soften his (Dowdall's) opposition, and reconcile him to the new regulations of public worship". (Thomas Leland, History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II, 3 vols., II (London: 1773), p. 197. Also See P.D. Wright Sir James Croft 1518-1590, (an unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1969), p. 20. Primate Dowdall, however, could only remark that he "wolde never be bishope: where Holie Masse...was abolished". (MacCurtain, Tudor and Stuart Ireland, p. 65) Subsequently he left the country and remained in exile until recalled by Mary I. Apart from this brief period, the English Church in Ireland was to receive from government agencies little help in the spread of Protestantism in that country. This fact only makes the period of the Protectorate in England all the more significant.

[66]Quoted in Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 133.

[67]Edwards, Church and State, p. 261.

[68]Ibid., pp. 260-61.

[69]Cf. Wright, Sir James Croft, p. 15.

[70]White, "Edward VI," p. 211.

[71]Quoted in Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 34-5.

[72]N. Smelser, "Some Determinants of Destructive Behavior," in Sanctions for Evil ed. by N. Sanford and C. Comstock (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc. Publishers, 1971), p. 17.

[73]Above, p. 9, note 14.

[74]See Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 187-91. For examples also see White, "Edward VI," pp. 204-05, and T.W. Moody, A New History of Ireland, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 71.

[75]Spenser, A View, p. 181. Spenser stated that one of his major purposes in writing his "View" was to secure Ireland against Spain, see A View, p. 140.

[76]Maxwell, Irish History, p. 182.

[77]C.S.P. Ire., I (1509-73), 413. Also see Maxwell, Contemporary, p. 169. Indeed, as far as the Irish were concerned they were waging a religious war; below, chapter IV.

[78]O'Farrell, Question, p. 26.

[79]Davies, "A Discovery," p. 292.

[80]Cf. Hodgen, Anthropology, p. 196.

[81]O'Farrell, Question, p. 27. In the case of Ireland, hostility was mixed with fear, for the Irish were seen not only as vicious, brutal and execrable, but also powerful and insidious.

[82]Above, pp. 1-2.

[83]Viscount Buttevant wrote a letter to Cecil that year which referred to Crosby as the one man best suited to reveal the "certainty of all things in this kingdom (of Ireland) and particularily of this province (of Munster)" C.S.P. Ire., (1599-1600), 226.

[84]Sir Roger Wilbraham, Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, p. 26.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Moryson as quoted in Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 140.

[87]See N.Z. Davis, "Rites of Violence".

[88]Quoted in Canny, Conquest, p. 135.

[89]Ibid., p. 128.

[90]Smelser, "Determinants," p. 22.

[91]Cf. O'Farrell, Question, p. 29. That she felt obliged to make such a statement is in itself revealing. It is almost a tacit

admission that near extirpation was being carried out.

[92]Quoted in Gosling, Gilbert, p. 48.

[93]Quoted in Canny, Conquest, pp. 120-21.

[94]Smelser, "Determinants," p. 22. In this case, the power of personal influence, and by recourse to certain legitimating norms such as the delegation of responsibility, the processes of dechristianization and dehumanization, and even by recourse to legal maxims. Each of these will be dealt with below.

[95]O'Farrell, Question, p. 2.

[96]T. Duster, "Conditions for Guilt-Free Massacre", in Sanctions for Evil ed. by Sanford and Comstock (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), p. 31.

[97]See Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 7-8.

[98]Quoted in Canny, Conquest, pp. 128-29. Also see below, pp.

[99]F.M. Jones, Mountjoy 1563-1606 (Dublin: Clonmore, 1958), p. 158.

[100]There exist many contradictions in their writings, even sometimes within the same work. Barnabe Rich, for example, accuses the Irish of being "rude, uncleanlie, and uncivil, so they are very cruell, bloudie minded, apt and ready to commit any kind of mischiefe". He then goes on to say that "I do not impute this so much to their natural inclination, as I do their education". A New Description (1610), p. 15. However, when it suits his purposes several pages later, the Irish are "by nature" cruel and their cruelty seems to have no structure or direction. Ibid., p. 17-18. Rich, elsewhere accuses Irish women of "idleness", "baseness", and of "having little practice either in pride or good huswifery", (Ibid., p. 36.) while Spenser claimed that "The Irishwomen (have) the trust and care of all things, both at home and in the fields". (quoted in Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 77.) Also see Moryson's contradictions as enumerated by Quinn, Elizabethans, pp. 64-6.

[101]Smelser, "Determinants," p. 17.

[102]C.S.P. Ire., (1574-85), 54. Quoted in Quinn, Elizabethans, pp. 124-25.

[103]Quoted in Quinn, _Elizabethans_, p. 125.

[104]_Ibid._

[105]Quoted in Jones, _Mountjoy_, p. 158. Mountjoy was the Lord Deputy who defeated Tyrone at the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

[106]Quinn, _Elizabethans_, p. 139.

[107]Cf. _Ibid._, p. 119.

[108]_Ibid._, p. 131.

[109]K.S. Bottigheimer, _English Money and Irish Land_ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 10. Perrott's work was entitled "Discourse touching the Reformation of Ireland" (1581).

[110]Above, pp. 1-2. Also see D.B. Quinn, "Ireland and Six-teenth-Century Expansion," _Historical Studies_, I (1958), pp. 27-8, where Perrott's attitudes and policies are likened to those used by Spain in the New World.

[111]Cf. Canny, _Conquest_, p. 127.

[112]Quinn, _Elizabethans_, p. 130.

[113]Moryson, "Itinerary," p. 258.

[114]Quoted in Gosling, _Gilbert_, p. 47.

[115]Smelser, "Determinants," p. 17.

[116]Quoted in Quinn, _Elizabethans_, p. 128.

[117]P. Hallie, "Justification and Rebellion," in _Sanctions for Evil_ ed. by Sanford and Comstock (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), p. 254.

[118]Cf. _Ibid._

[119]Quoted in Gosling, _Gilbert_, p. 47.

[120]Davies, for example, believed that Ireland must first be

brought to civility before it could be taught the ways of good government. (Canny, Conquest, p. 135).

[121]"What Smith and Essex really wanted was to drive out the ruling elite and retain the majority of the population as docile cultivators" and virtual slaves of English landlords. Canny, Conquest, p. 130.

[122]Canny, Conquest, p. 135.

[123]Ibid., p. 121.

[124]See Canny, Conquest, pp. 128-29. Also see below, pp. 42-3.

[125]Quoted in Canny, Conquest, p. 130.

[126]Davies, "A Discovery," p. 264.

[127]Davies is writing mostly in the past tense. Since he felt that Ireland had indeed been subdued by his time (after the Tyrone rebellion), he is, therefore, justifying actions that his fore-runners had committed.

[128]Sir John Davies, Le Primer Report des Cases & Matters...en les Courts del Roy en Ireland (London, 1615), p. 9.

[129]Davies, "A Discovery," p. 264. To stress his point he wrote: "heretofore the neglect of the law made the English de-generate and become Irish; and now the execution of the law doth make the Irish grow civil and become English".

[130]Ibid., p. 265. The Irish legal system imposed fines (usually of cattle) rather than physical punishment as compensation for crimes.

[131]Davies, "A Discovery," p. 219.

[132]Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 129.

[133]Davies, "A Discovery," p. 165. Also see Quinn Elizabethans, p. 129.

[134]Quoted in Bottigheimer, Money, p. 19.

[135]Quoted in Hodgen, _Anthropology_, p. 146.

[136]Smelser, "Determinants," p. 23.

[137]Hodgen, _Anthropology_, p. 66.

[138]_Ibid._, p. 168.

[139]For example of laziness see Quinn, _Elizabethans_, pp. 76-78. For ignorance, see Roger Hutchinson "The Image of God" (1550) quoted in Quinn, _Elizabethans_, p. 22.

[140]George Turberville, _Tragical Tales_ (1587). Quoted in Quinn, _Elizabethans_, p. 23.

[141]See above, p. 36, note 100.

[142]Moryson, "Itinerary," pp. 162-64.

[143]Churchyard quoted in Maxwell, _Irish History_, p. 318.

[144]Moryson, "Itinerary," p. 193.

[145]Cf. V.W. Bernard et al., "Dehumanization," in _Sanctions for Evil_ ed. by Sanford and Comstock (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), p. 105. Even the words used to denote Irishmen contributed to their general degradation: "wild" Irish, "idle" Irish etc.

[146]F. Jennings, _Invasion of America_ (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 8.

[147]W.R. Jones, "The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe," in _Comparatives Studies in Society and History_, XIII (1971), p. 377. Also see Jennings, _Invasion of America_, pp. 6-7.

[148]Jennings, _Invasion of America_, p. 8.

[149]Edmund Campion, "History of Ireland" (1571), in _Ancient Irish Histories_ ed. by Sir James Ware (1633), p. 21. Also see Barnabe Rich, _A New Description_, Chapter 14, for more superstitions.

[150]Campion, "History", pp. 21-2.

[151] Quoted in Hodgen, Anthropology, p. 365. Campion eventually became a Catholic martyr in England.

[152] Rich, A New Description, pp. 10-17.

[153] Ibid. He concluded that the Irish were more "heathenish than amongst a people that had neither known nor heard of God". (A Short Survey (1609), p. 2. These views were common in the Elizabethan accounts of Ireland. See Davies, "A Discovery," p. 292.

[154] Canny, Conquest, pp. 123-24.

[155] Ibid., p. 124. Also see other examples in O'Farrell, Question, p. 25; Canny, Conquest, pp. 123-24; and Moryson, "Itinerary, p. 190.

[156] Edmund Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland ed. by W.L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 84.

[157] Canny, Conquest, p. 125.

[158] Spenser, A View, pp. 84-6.

[159] Ibid., p. 12.

[160] Cf. O'Farrell, Question, p. 27.

[161] Above, p. 42, note 119.

[162] Definition from Bernard et al., "Dehumanization,", p. 103.

[163] Francis Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 60, stressed that such an argument also applied to the invasion of North America and the guilt-free slaughter of Indian tribes.

[164] Above, p. 49, located at notes 142-44.

[165] Quoted in O'Farrell, Question, p. 26.

[166] Davies, "A Discovery," p. 291.

[167] Quoted in Gosling, Gilbert, p. 37.

[168]Moryson, "A History," p. 14. For another example see William Farmer's account of 1601 in Quinn, Elizabethans, pp. 139-40. It is interesting to note that in the 1620s, with Ireland safely in England's nest, Luke Geron was able to be sarcastic about the whole affair. He wrote "Lett us converse with the people. Lord, what makes you so squeamish--be not affrayd. The Irishman is no Canniball to eate you up nor no lowsy Jack to offend you". See C.L. Falkiner, Illustrations of Irish History and Topography (London: 1904), p. 356.

[169]Canny, Conquest, p. 121.

[170]Ibid., p. 121.

[171]Rich, A New Description, p. 23.

[172]Annals of the four Masters, pp. 1695-97 as quoted in Maxwell, Irish History, p. 236. Also see Bagwell, Tudors, II, pp. 130-1.

[173]Quoted in Maxwell, Irish History, p. 211.

[174]Bernard et al., "Dehumanization," p. 109.

[175]Ibid., p. 103.

[176]G. De Vos, "Conflict, Dominance, and Exploitation," in Sanctions for Evil ed. by Sanford and Comstock (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc.,1971), pp. 162-63.

[177]W.R. Jones, The Image, p. 435.

[178]Rich, A New Description, p. 17.

[179]See Appendix to Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 162.

[180]Quoted in Quinn, Elizabethans, p.78.

[181]Ibid., pp. 78-9.

[182]Ibid., pp. 81-2.

[183]Duster, "Conditions", p. 27.

[184]S.P. Henry VIII, II, 52. Letter to Earl of Surrey.

[185]Cf. O'Farrell, Question, p. 25.

[186]Above, p. 1.

[187]C.S.P. Ire., (1509-73), p. 508. Quoted in Quinn, Elizabethans, p. 129.

[188]O'Farrell, Question, p. 5.

[189]Cf. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[190]Gilbert is a perfect example. He saw his 'work' merely as a job for which he was poorly paid. He impoverished himself in Ireland because it was his 'duty' as an Englishman to do so. See Gosling, Gilbert, pp. 47-50.

[191]See 1515 report, above, p. 14. Also see Quinn, Elizabethans, pp. 50-52.

[192]Canny, Conquest, p. 128.

[193]For one example, see Sir James Perrott, Chronicle, p. 4.

[194]Canny, Conquest, pp. 128-30 makes such an argument.

[195]Cf. Jodgen, Anthropology, p. 34.

[196]Cf. Ibid., p. 54.

[197]J.G.A. Pocock, The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), p. vii.

[198]Ibid., p. viii.

[199]Davies, Le Primer Report..." p. 2. (preface).

[200]Pocock, Ancient Constitution, p. 30.

[201]O'Farrell, Question, p. 22.

[202] Above, p. 62.

[203] Sir James Perrott agreed when he said that "the cheifest means to begat civilitie" was through outside influence brought by "commerce with forayne nacions". (Chronicle, p. 16.)

[204] T.W. Moody, "Sir Thomas Phillips of Livavady, Servitor," Irish Historical Studies, I (1938-39), p. 272.

[205] Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 44.

[206] O'Farrell, Question, p. 4.

[207] ie. rebellion of Silken Thomas in the 1530s (see R.D. Edwards, Church and State, p. 4); that of James Fitzmaurice in 1569 (see O'Farrell, Question, p. 23); and those of the Geraldine League in 1539 (see Edwards, Church and State, p. 115.

[208] Moody, New History, p. xli.

[209] "Annals of the Four Masters" quoted in Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 128-29. Also see Bagwell Tudors, I, p. 304-5, 312 and Edwards, Church and State, p. 152 for other examples.

[210] "Annals of the Four Masters" quoted in Edwards, Church and State, pp. 260-1.

[211] Quoted in O'Farrell, Question, p. 30.

[212] Edwards, Church and State, p. xlii.

[213] O'Farrell, Question, p. 31.

[214] Ibid., p. 22.

[215] Gosling, Gilbert, p. 45. For Churchyard's quotation to same effect see Gosling, p. 51.

[216] "Annals of the four Masters" quoted in Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 128-9.

[217] O'Farrell, Question, p. 24.

[218]Cf. Edwards, Church and State, pp. 220-21.

[219]O'Farrell, Question, p. 24.

[220]Maxwell, Irish History, p. 42.

[221]O'Farrell, Question, pp. 19, 44. The execution of Bishop O'Devany saw Catholics "cut off his fingers, toes, even his flesh as sacred relics". Ibid., p. 44. See Edwards, Church and State for a detailed list of Irish martyrs.

[222]O'Farrell, Question, pp. 28, 42.

[223]Ibid., p. 21.

[224]See Maxwell, Irish History, pp. 191, 152-3.

[225]See Jennings, Invasion of America, pp. 7-8 for the medieval roots of the idea that Englishmen were carriers of civilization, and see Canny, Conquest, p. 119 for the sixteenth-century application of this argument.

[226]W.G. Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Policy (London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1948), p. 3.

[227]Ibid., Introduction, Passim.

[228]Ibid., p. 7.

[229]Ibid., p. 115.

[230]Ibid., p. 269.

[231]Ibid., p. 121.

[232]Bagwell, Tudors, I, p. 312.

[233]Starkey, for example "insisted on the necessity of separating ecclesiastical from secular government and thus recognized the possibility of a self-sufficient secular state". Zeeveld, Foundations, p. 124.

[234]Jennings uses much the same argument in reference to the Crusades. The fact that the infidels were enemies of God meant that they were "outside the protection of the moral law applicable to that god's devotees...the laws of moral obligation sanctioned behavior on only one side of that chasm". The inevitable result was that "no slaughter was impermissible, no lie dishonorable, no breach of trust shameful, if it advantaged the champions of true religion". Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 6.

[235]Above, pp. 67-8.

[236]For the historian, "the opposing absolutes of evil savagery and good civilization (must) become morally neutral and relatively comparable as 'societies' and 'cultures'". Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 13.

[237]Above, p. 11.

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